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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

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CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

In compliance with the order of the Treasury, the Master of the Rolls has selected for publication for the present year such works as he considered best calculated to fill up the chasms existing in the printed materials of English history; and of these works the present is one.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

MEMORIALS

OF

KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

HISTORIA

REGIS HENRICI SEPTIMI,

A

BERNARDO ANDREA THOLOSATE

CONSCRIPTA;

NECNON ALIA QUÆDAM AD EUNDEM REGEM SPECTANTIA.

EDITED

BY

JAMES GAIRDNER.

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PREFACE.

THE contents of the present volume are writings illustrative of the time of Henry the Seventh from the pens of his contemporaries. In no period of the English annals are the sources of history so scanty. Since the days of Chaucer English literature had declined, and become a perfect blank. There was not a poet even of Lydgate's standing. There was hardly an original prose writer whose name survives at this day. The monkish chronicles generally cease long before the close of the fifteenth century; and there is nothing to supply their place for some time after.

Scarcity of historical materials for the reign of Henry VII.

It is true, there were countervailing influences from abroad. The study of ancient learning was beginning to revive. Italy had sent forth eminent scholars, and classical literature was admired and imitated. The movement spread from South to North, giving a new vitality to thought in every country where it was received; but it was late in reaching England. At the commencement of the Tudor period, the only writers of note were one or two foreigners who wrote in Latin, and it is from their works, not from the works of Englishmen, that we derive our principal knowledge of the history of the times.

Contemporary authorities.

Of these foreign writers Polydore Vergil and Bernard André chiefly claim the historian's attention. Fabyan is almost the only other, either English or foreign, who is used as an authority; and his information is meagre in the extreme. The later chronicle of Hall, so far as it relates to this reign, is little more than a translation of Polydore Vergil; and Polydore, though he was in England in Henry the Seventh's time, could not have written much of his history before the succeeding reign. As a strictly contemporary record, therefore, of the days of Henry the Seventh, the historical writings of Bernard André may be said to stand alone.

Life of Bernard André.

Of the life of this author very little is known.[1] His own writings show that he was a native of Toulouse, and a friar of the order of St. Augustine. One of his contemporaries[2] tells us he came of a distinguished family. He probably came into England along with Henry VII.; for he was not there during the Wars of the Roses,[3] but was present at Henry's triumphant entry into London after Bosworth field. He was blind, whether from infancy or not we have no means of judging, but certainly from the earliest time at which we have any notice of his being in England;[4] and this fact he frequently alludes to in his writings, excusing himself for not describing more fully things which his privation had made him incapable of witnessing. But whether blind in youth or not, he evidently must have had the advantage of excellent

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[1] The notices of him in Bale, Pamphilus, Crusenius, Elssius, and others, are all extremely inaccurate and unsatisfactory. Tanner is only a little more full, having gathered some notes of his preferments from episcopal registers.

[2] Johannes Opicius, who describes him as "ortu claro," MS.

[3] See p. 19.

[4] See pp. 32, 35.

tuition. His poems, though certainly not imaginative, show at least that he was very well read in classic authors. In his prose, also, he indulges in frequent quotations, which may be taken as evidence alike of his taste and of his retentive memory.

By what means he was first introduced to king Henry's notice we are not informed, but there seems a reasonable presumption that it was through the instrumentality of Fox, afterwards bishop of Winchester, whom he calls his Mæcenas.[1] Fox had been employed by Henry before he came to the crown in soliciting from Charles VIII. of France the assistance which enabled him to obtain it, and it may be presumed that André first became acquainted with his patron in his own native country.

His appointment as Poet Laureate.

Shortly after his accession, Henry VII. made him his poet laureate. He was also engaged in a tutorial capacity at Oxford. In consideration of the benefit which many had derived from his teaching there was granted to him, in November 1486, a pension of 10 marks a year until he should obtain from the crown church preferment of a similar value.[2] This pension he continued to hold for at least ten years; for in 1496 we meet with a warrant in Rymer[3] authorizing the treasurer and chamberlain of the Exchequer to pay him his 10 marks for the current year in a single payment, instead of 5 marks half yearly, as usual.

His promotions.

But at length church preferment came. On the 4th of April 1498, the bishop of Lincoln conferred upon him the hospital of St. Leonard's, Bedford, which he resigned the following year.[4] On the 31st of December 1500 he was presented by the king to the

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[1] See p. 33.

[2] See MS. Addit. 4617., Brit. Mus., f. 133. (Rymer's Transcripts); also Rymer, vol. xii. p. 317.

[3] Vol. xii. p. 643.

[4] Tanner.

parish church of Guysnes near Calais; and afterwards obtained from the abbot of Glastonbury the living of Higham[1], to which he was instituted on the 21st of October 1501. This last he resigned in the beginning of 1505; but when the living was granted away again, a pension of 24*l.* a year was reserved for his benefit.

Nor was Bernard neglected at court; for it appears from the privy purse expenses of Henry VII. that donations of money were made to him on various occasions,[2] probably on the presentation of his several effusions. Whether Henry was a real admirer of literature, or only a rewarder of compliments, he showed himself no illiberal patron to the poets who presented themselves before him.[3] In 1506 he gave André the sum of 100 shillings as a new year's gift; and the present was repeated every new year's day, both by Henry and his successor, till at least as late as the year 1521. Doubtless it was continued till his death, whatever may have been the date of that event, but the books are not extant by which we might trace it later down. In the entries of these payments which still remain he is called "Master Barnard the blind poet."[4]

Appointed tutor to Prince Arthur.

In the year 1496, as we may judge,[5] he was appointed tutor to Arthur prince of Wales, then about ten years of age, and from that time forward appears to have had the care of his education. On the 19th of May 1499, he was a witness of his pupil's marriage by proxy to Catherine of Arragon, at Bewdley in

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[1] His predecessor, according to Tanner, was Richard Nikham, who resigned it on being elevated to the episcopal dignity. I can find no bishop of that name, but presume it was Richard Nix, who was just at that time promoted to the see of Norwich.

[2] Excerpta Historica, pp. 109, 124.

[3] See other entries in the same accounts, pp. 108, 110, &c.

[4] Chapter House Books, A. 5. 16. —A. 5. 18., in the Public Record Office.

[5] See p. 4.

Worcestershire.[1] We also find that in the title of his Life of Henry the Seventh he calls himself the royal historiographer. He began this work in the year 1500, having, as he himself tells us, shortly before retired from court, with the view, partly of giving rest to his mind after many sorrows, and partly of resuming studies from which, he says, an evil ambition had kept him back. His task, however, could not have been prosecuted steadily. The mention of Michael Dyacon, bishop of St. Asaph, at page 33, proves that part of the work to have been written in 1500, while Dyacon was still alive; but the allusion to the death of prince Arthur, only six pages further on (p. 39), must have been written at the very earliest in April 1502. The preface and preliminary matter must also have been composed and prefixed to the work after Arthur's death.[2]

Writes the Life of Henry VII.

In this preface he intimates his intention of presenting yearly to the king some literary effort, greater or less according to the fertility of his genius for the time being, which might be accepted as the tenths and first fruits of his leisure. This intention he appears to have fulfilled by writing yearly an account of the principal occurrences of the time; but of these compositions, unfortunately, only two of Henry VII.'s time are known to be extant. They will be found in this volume after the Life. We have other two written in the succeeding reign, the one in 1515, presented to Henry VIII. on entering the seventh year of his reign,[3] and the other in 1521, wishing prosperity to the thirteenth.[4] Neither of these compositions is of much importance. Tanner mentions another MS. dedicated to Henry VIII.,

Intended yearly to write a work for the king; and probably did so.

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[1] See Rymer, XII. 759.

[2] See the following passage at p. 8: "Wallenses, quibus Arturus secundus antenominati regis primogenitus princeps *cum hæc scriberem* dominabatur." I suppose the work began originally with the chapter, *De loco ubi natus est.*

[3] MS., New Coll., Oxon.

[4] MS. Reg. 12 A. x., British Museum.

which appears also to belong to the series of his annual presentations. It was written in the beginning of the tenth year of that reign (in 1518), and accompanied with an epithalamium for the intended marriage of the king's daughter Mary with the dauphin Francis (son of Francis I.) This was in Tanner's days in the possession of Thomas Martin of Palgrave, the antiquary.

His fame as an author appears to have been great in his own day. Besides these historical writings, he is mentioned by Bishop Bale as the author of a collection of Hymns for the entire year in three books, and a life of St. Andrew the Apostle. A sermon on the feast of St. Dominic is also attributed to him, which exists in MS. at Rome. It is said that his name appears with the addition of "juris utriusque doctor" in a register of the Augustinian Order of the year 1514.[1]

According to Crusenius in his Monasticon Augustinianum, he was also made "Regius Orator" (whatever that may have been,) and keeper of the king's library and printing office;[2] but the authority for this is not stated, and one can hardly suppose the latter office to have been conferred upon a blind man. Another fact mentioned by Crusenius has more internal probability, when we consider that André was prince Arthur's tutor in grammar, and probably his brother Henry's also. It was by André, we are told, that Henry VIII. was induced to write his famous book against Luther

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[1] Thomas de Herrera, in Alphabeto Augustiniano, t. i, p. 114. So also in a notice of him in Jöcher's Gelehrten-Lexicon,—"Er scheinet "eben derjenige zu seyn welcher "in den Ordens-Acten von 1514. "Magister Bernardus Tolosanus "und beyden Rechten Doctor ge- "nennet wird."

[2] "Regiæ Bibliothecæ necnon ty- "pographeio præfectus accuratis- "simus." *Nic. Crusenius* in Monastico Augustiniano, p. 192.

which gained for him the title of Defender of the Faith.[1]

The date of André's death is unknown. The last date at which we know him to have been alive is 1521, and he probably died not long after. Bale says he was nearly 60 in 1510, on what authority does not appear; but he certainly must have numbered many years. In his presentation treatise of 1521 he makes marked allusion to his increased infirmities.[2] He is believed to have died in London, and been buried in the cemetery of the Austin Friars, the house to which he belonged.

The MSS. of his works.

The works of Bernard André printed in this volume are, first, his Life of Henry VII., extending down to the capture of Perkin Warbeck, and, secondly, the two smaller pieces giving an account of the events of Henry's 20th and 23d years, which appear to have been portions of a continuation of the Life. They are all derived from unique MSS. in the Cottonian library, and are all written on the same size of paper, a small quarto. The Life is contained in the volume Domitian XVIII. (ff. 126–228); the narrative of the 20th year in Julius A IV., and that of the 23d in Julius A. III. As the author was blind, he must have dictated his compositions to an amanuensis, and not one

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[1] Nic. Crusenius, ibid.

[2] "Quid potest homo ætate ista decrepita ad florentissimum Regem perferre nisi quod ante solebat, Musarum corollas et thymiamata sancta recensere? Profecto nil aliud præstare possum hoc tempore, sapientissime Rex, nisi studium quod ante intenderam, dispari tamen exordio. Nam tunc a juvenilibus annis ad seniores, nunc a vetustis, imo vetustissimorum extremis, cogor inire mœstos modos; et unde processerit hæc mutatio Excelsi dicant qui sciunt. Ego enim juxta moduli mei exiguitatem loquor; alii (?) non equidem, utcumque est pro antiquo et deditissimo officii mei, in exordio hujus anni præsentis non pro panegyrico sed extemporali quadam inter ægrotantes profusione, dicta velim accipienda ex uno et eodem valetudinario."

of them can be an autograph; but they are probably the identical copies that he presented to the king. They are each written in a different hand, but in very clear distinct writing, with few decorations of any kind. The Life has two coloured initials, one at the commencement of the dedication and the other at the commencement of the preface; and spaces are left in other places for similar embellishments. The 20th year has one coloured initial only; the 23d has marginal notes, and the commencement of the dedication engrossed in coloured ink. All these MSS. are very legible, except where they have suffered from the fire in the Cottonian library. This has not been the case to any visible extent with the volume Domitian XVIII., the edges of which may perhaps have been a little singed, but have since been shaved by the binder. The volumes Julius A. III. and IV., however, have both suffered in a marked degree, particularly the former; though less from the fire itself than from the water used to extinguish it. In many places the marginal notes in Julius A. III. and the text in Julius A. IV. have become very faint and illegible from this cause. An injury was done to them, however, even before that date, as it appears in one instance, in the misplacement of several of their leaves, which I found in a wrong order when I transcribed them. Since then the volumes have been rebound and the leaves placed in their proper order, except in the instance noted at p. 126.

The handwriting and general appearance of each of the three MSS. may be seen in the carefully executed facsimiles in this volume.

Transcripts, not first draughts.

It is possible that the MS. Julius A. IV., containing the annal of the twentieth year, may be the very MS. written to the author's dictation; but the other two are probably, indeed one of them certainly is, a transcript only. There are errors in both which look

much like those of transcribers[1]; but in the MS. of the Life we have also other evidence. That the preface of that work must have been composed after the work itself is evident from the mention made in the former of Prince Arthur as dead; while the year in which the work was commenced is distinctly dated as 1500, and in that year Arthur was alive. But it is quite clear that in the existing MS. the preface was the first thing written. There is no possibility that it could have been afterwards prefixed; for it is not written on a separate sheet of paper, and no change whatever is perceptible in the character of the handwriting between the end of the preface and the beginning of the work itself.

Inaccurate in spelling and punctuation.

The spelling in all three MSS. is very inaccurate, and proves the scribes to have had little of the author's scholarship. The punctuation, too, is in many places erroneous. Nor need we be surprised that the text itself contains errors, having been originally dictated by one who could not read it when written, and transcribed by others who could not always follow its meaning. A few of the false readings in the MSS. will be found corrected in the foot notes; but one or two remain which appear to defy explanation.

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[1] At p. 23 Charles VIII. of France is called Charles VII. ("Septimo"), which is much more likely to have occurred from the misreading of a Roman numeral ("VII." for "VIII."), than from Bernard André's ignorance; at p. 28, "minima" (both i's distinctly dotted) occurs instead of "numina"; at p. 48. *innit ducte* for *movit duce te*; and at p. 109, *idoneum* evidently for *id est, novum*. All these errors are precisely of the kind that would have arisen from the misreading of another MS., certainly not from the mishearing of words spoken. Others, however, may be detected which are probably due to the latter cause, and which sometimes make a sad confusion in the text; as for instance the word *quominus* at p. 31, for which in a foot note I have suggested the reading *quam citius*. I have no doubt now, however, that the reading intended by the author was *cominus*, especially as I see the same error in another place (p. 120).

There are marginal notes in the Life, and also in the Twenty-third year, but far too numerous and unimportant to be preserved. They are for the most part mere repetitions of some of the names and phrases in the text, such as "Plutarchus," "Achilles," "Boreas," and "Marsus aper." In the very few instances in which they have some slight significance they will be found noticed in the foot notes.

Historical value of the works.

To give a just estimate of the historical value of Bernard André, it is necessary to speak of each of his writings separately. The Life of Henry VII. is the principal one, and has been most quoted by historians. Speed appears to have been the first who made use of it, if indeed he was not preceded by Lord Bacon, who must have been composing his History of Henry the Seventh about the time that Speed was writing his History of Great Britain. The mere fact of André's work having been used as an authority by such writers might be enough to assure us that it is not without value. Indeed this alone might confer a value upon it; for as our notions of the reign of Henry the Seventh are mainly derived from Lord Bacon, and both he and Speed are quoted as authorities, it becomes a matter of some interest to verify their references and examine the sources of their information. It will be found hereafter that both these writers, and more especially the former, have sometimes mistaken our author's meaning.

The life of Henry VII.

The great value of the work consists in its being strictly contemporary. It was written *in* the reign of Henry the Seventh, not merely, like Polydore Vergil's History, by one who lived in the reign. It is almost the only work that can be called a description of those times written in the times themselves. It does not indeed give a very minute description of events, but it enables us to understand the feelings which the different events awakened. It makes no pretensions to the fullness of a chronicle. It is not even complete as a biography. There are

breaks and chasms apparent: there are also important omissions. Again and again the author excuses himself for the scantiness of his details and the imperfections of his work. But his own sense of these imperfections gives all the more weight to what he tells us. Not having been blessed with eyesight, he will not describe what a spectator could have done more justice to; not having taken accurate notes nor received any assistance in his labor, he professes only to write from memory. His consolation that Homer also was blind may amuse us, as well as some other evidences of the estimation in which he held his own productions; but this too was in some degree justified by the esteem of contemporary *literati*. One of them, by name Johannes Opicius, says, addressing Henry VII.:—

> "Sed mihi des veniam, quæso, clarissime regum,
> Et mihi parce, precor, nostri si carmina tantum
> Ingenii madefacta haud sunt Heliconis in undis
> Illius quantum vatis quem antiqua Tholosa
> Gallorum genuit urbs ortu regia claro;
> Cui non deficiunt præcordia sacra Platonis,
> Alta Maroneæ cui non facundia Musæ;
> Mellifluum Ciceronis habet genus ille loquendi;
> Qui te (fama volat) numeris celebrare canendo
> Cœpit et egregias de te contexere laudes,
> Grandia facta simul."[1]

But the laudatory style of Bernard André's effusions, and the circumstance of his being Henry the Seventh's poet laureate, may perhaps be considered to detract from his value as an historical authority. Certainly if his memory had served him sufficiently to have enabled him to fill his pages somewhat more with facts and less with panegyric, his work would have been of so much the more importance; but I can see no evidence that he

[1] MS. Cott. Vespasian, B. iv.

ever sacrificed the independence of his judgment. His highflown language was nothing but the taste of the day. Nor is he by any means the most laudatory of Henry the Seventh's admirers. John de Giglis, Petrus Carmelianus, Johannes Opicius, and Walter Ogilvy exhausted upon Henry every epithet of admiration. Indeed there is not a word to be found concerning him in any contemporary writer which does not speak of him in the highest terms of praise; and it is difficult to believe that all this was insincere.

On the whole we may sum up our judgment of André's History in the words of Speed:

"This Andreas," says that writer[1], "as he himself "writes, was intrusted with the instruction of prince "Arthur, eldest son to king Henry, in good letters, "though he was blind; and having as well the title "of poet laureate as of the king's historiographer (how "hardly soever those two faculties meet with honor "in the same person), meant to have historified and "poetised the acts of this king, but (for want of com-"petent and attended instructions in many places of "chief importance) left his labor full of wide breaches "and unfinished, yet in such points as he hath pro-"fessed to know not unworthy to be vouched, for "there is in him a great deal of clear elocution "and defecated conceit above the ordinary of that "age."

The latter part of the Life of Henry VII., which relates the story of Perkin Warbeck, has already been printed in the Archæologia (Vol. XXVII., pp. 192–198), in a very able article by Sir Frederic Madden.

The twentieth year.

Of the Annals of Henry VII., the two which alone remain to us are, perhaps, even more interesting than the Life, though they have been less frequently re-

[1] Speed's Hist. p. 728.

ferred to by historians. That of the twentieth year, written just after that year had been completed, though not abounding in incident, tells us something of the condition of the country and of the estimation in which Henry was held by the different powers of Europe. It was a time of tranquillity both within the kingdom and without. We hear of no more disturbances at home; no counterfeit Plantagenets menacing Henry's throne; and the machinations of the earl of Suffolk abroad have not occurred to our author as worthy the slightest notice. The continent was in the enjoyment of a momentary repose; for through Henry's mediation even the kings of France and Spain had agreed to a peace, and their bloody struggle for the kingdom of Naples had been set at rest for a time. Lewis XII.'s minister, Cardinal d'Amboise, had testified his esteem for Henry by sending him a leg of St. George the Martyr;[1] the king of Portugal had requested him to take the command in a general crusade against the infidels; and Pope Julius II., like his two predecessors, had sent him a consecrated sword and hat. The settled state of the country had enabled the king, by the consent of Parliament[2], to relax the severity of former attainders. These are the principal matters which we find in the twentieth year, the events of which our author would probably have recounted more fully had he not been obliged to leave London on account of the plague.

The twenty-third year.

The account of the twenty-third year is much more copious in detail, and is so full of interesting matter that if we possessed a similar record of all the other

[1] It appears from Fabyan that this relic, enclosed in silver, was exhibited at St. Paul's on St. George's Day, 1505.

[2] See Stat. 19 Hen. VII. c. 28.

years the reign of Henry VII. might be as lucid as it is now obscure. We have here a complete journal of a whole twelvemonth of Henry's reign. Each incident is set down with precision under the exact date of its occurrence; and small as well as great events, committed to writing before they had become a burden on the memory, are related with the freshness of news without reference to their political importance. The stormy weather of December and the extraordinary mildness of the new year are duly noted, no less than the defeat of Maximilian, and the news of the Sophi's victories over the Turks. It is true we have nothing here but the mere externals of events; but such careful chronicles are of inestimable value. No testimony can be more entirely free from suspicion than that which merely aims at stating facts; and even small facts, accurately dated, are often of incalculable value for the elucidation of history.

The French verses by which this annal of the twenty-third year is prefaced are in the MS. written on a couple of leaves by themselves, in a different hand from the rest of the work. This doubtless has caused them to be regarded as anonymous poems unconnected with André's work; and the occasion which led to their composition has consequently been misunderstood. But Mrs. Green has fully proved[1] even from internal evidence that the poem "Reveillez vous, cœurs endormis," had relation to the marriage projected in 1507 between the princess Mary and Charles of Castile, to which there is more than one allusion in the narrative which it precedes. Below the previous poem occurs what appears to have been a favorite sentiment of André's in Latin, viz., that a pacific king is exalted above all the kings of earth.

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[1] Lives of the Princesses, v. 7.

The poem entitled "Les Douze Triomphes de Henry VII." is a curious specimen of the literature of that day. Though anonymous, it contains such internal indications of its probable authorship that we can scarcely be wrong in attributing it also to Bernard André. The mere circumstance of its being written in French suggests this, for what other Frenchman was likely to have spoken of the king of England in such high terms of eulogy? The style is exactly that of a poet laureate, and the classical similes employed are frequently the same as we find in the Life of Henry VII. In both works, for instance, Henry is compared to Hercules struggling with Envy, and Margaret duchess of Burgundy to Juno. Lastly, it is not altogether irrelevant to observe that the paper on which the French poem is written is of precisely the same small quarto size as the other works of Bernard André. Les Douze Triomphes.

The MS. of this poem is in the Royal Library in the British Museum, numbered 16 E. XVII. The paper mark is a Catherine wheel like that engraved in the Paston Letters, Vol. II. Plate X. No. 6. The handwriting may possibly be the same as that in the MS. of André's Life of Henry VII., but in that case some years must have intervened between the two writings. It is very plain, and by no means so flowing and easy as the other. There is no rubric or other decoration.

The Twelve Triumphs appears to have been written in the year 1497. The advantage Henry is said to have gained over the king of Scots cannot be assigned to an earlier date; the manner in which Perkin Warbeck is spoken of proves it could not have been later. Margaret of Burgundy was still attempting to crown the pretended duke of York in Ireland, and all the victory Henry had obtained over him was, compelling him

to take refuge among the savages[1] in that country. We may be sure, therefore, that the poem was not written after his capture in 1497, especially as, notwithstanding the general tone of triumph, the conclusion urges Henry "for a while patiently to endure and "hope, for in the end he would have a complete "victory."

It would be curious if we could ascertain whether this poem was held in any estimation beyond the limits of the court. At the date of its composition it was not altogether superfluous or extravagant to state that the pacification of the country had demanded a series of Herculean labors. The poem may be regarded as an appeal to the lords and people of England not to undo the good work that had been effected, but to aid the king in its completion. Hence, it is very probable it was transcribed and circulated elsewhere than at the court. In a catalogue of the library of Gerald earl of Kildare in 1526,[2] we find a French work entitled "Ercules," which may not unlikely have been this very poem,[3] for at the date of its composition the Geraldines were loyal subjects.

In the beginning is a passage which seems rather enigmatical. In comparing the deeds of Henry to the twelve labors of Hercules, the author, in every instance but one, explains the parallel, and names the different enemies vanquished by his hero. But in the case of the Nemæan lion he expresses himself with a reserve

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[1] Polydore Vergil tells us that it was among the savage or wild Irish, not among the civilised community which kept up intercourse with England, that Perkin was received with favor.

[2] Printed in the Appendix of Lord Kildare's Earls of Kildare, lately published, from MS. Harl. 3756.

[3] There is also in the list a copy of Bernard André's Latin hymns.

which all but conceals from us the intended application of the simile:

"De ce leon j'entendz un roy superbe;
C'est à sçavoir, roy plus grant en noblesse
Que les aultres, Virgille en un proverbe
L'escript ainsi, en honneur et haultesse,
Ce nonobstant que à present on l'abaisse
Pour l'apliquer en vice aulcunement.
Sy l'entendz je et pour autel le lesse
Comme on faisoit lors anciennement.

Et de ce roy je me taiz le nommer,
Qui du leon est icy figuré.
Le roy Henry estant delà la mer
Cuyda par luy bien estre devouré;
Mais Dieu pour luy a si bien procuré
Qu'il ha vaincu et ha sa peau vestue," &c.

Who is this king, and why should silence be observed about him more than others? We are told Henry when beyond the sea stood in great fear of him. This, I take it, refers to the winter of 1492, when Henry invaded France. The king of whom he stood in dread could hardly have been any other than Charles VIII. The amicable relations afterwards established with him would have been quite sufficient to prevent a laureate mentioning him by name, but the advantage gained over him required some celebration.

Sketch of the period.

Let us now, with Bernard André before us, briefly review the times of king Henry the Seventh, and see what light is to be had respecting that monarch's history.

Birth of Henry VII.

Henry was the son of Edmund Tudor earl of Richmond, and was born in the early part of the year

1457, a few months after his father's death.[1] The civil wars of York and Lancaster had already been kindled before he saw the light. He was just four years old when Edward the Fourth wrested the sceptre from the feeble hands of Henry the Sixth; and being an eminent branch of the obnoxious House of Lancaster, it was judged necessary for his safety to send him abroad. His uncle, the earl of Pembroke, took him over to Britanny, and there he remained many years in exile and security while England was convulsed with civil war. He was in his twenty-seventh year when, in consequence of the odious tyranny of Richard III., a scheme was laid to place him upon the throne.

The first attempt was a failure. It had been concerted along with the duke of Buckingham, whose enterprize terminated in the desertion of his followers and his own execution. Henry had crossed the

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[1] No book that I have seen gives the accurate date, or mentions his being a posthumous child; but the facts may be easily verified by a reference to the Inquisitions *post mortem*. Dugdale, who cites these documents, has made an error as to the year, which has misled other writers. He says that Edmund earl of Richmond died on the morrow of All Souls' day, 35 Henry VI., leaving his son Henry fifteen weeks old. By this it would appear that Henry was born in 1456, just fifteen weeks before the death of his father. But the age of Henry as given in the document is not his age at his father's death, but at the taking of the inquisition. Moreover, the inquisitions on the death of the earl of Richmond, though ranged under the thirty-fifth year of Henry VI. (because the writs were issued in that year), were all *taken* in the thirty-sixth year. They were taken in nine different counties, and the returns are sufficiently precise to show that Henry must have been born early in 1457, though not to tell the exact day of his birth. The Norfolk inquisition, taken on the 11th October 1457, finds him to be thirty-five weeks old and upwards; in Suffolk, on the 29th October, he was returned as thirty-six weeks and upwards; in Yorkshire, on the 20th July, five months, &c. See *Inquis. post mortem*, 35 Hen. VI. No. 19. André intended to have told us the very day, but committed a strange inconsistency in telling it (see page 12).

Channel, and was about to land, when he found the country up in arms to oppose him, and he was obliged for the time to return to Britanny. But two years later he renewed the experiment under better auspices. To conciliate the Yorkists, and obviate as far as possible objections to his title, he in the meantime made solemn oath to marry the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV., whenever he should obtain the crown. King Edward himself, if André has informed us truly, at one time intended such a match for her.[1] A confederacy was formed with Richmond in England, and many adherents crossed the sea to join him. At last, with the aid of a few auxiliaries from France and Britanny, he landed among his fellow countrymen in Wales, passed on into the centre of the kingdom, won the battle of Bosworth, and established himself upon the throne of England.

His reception in London after the battle of Bosworth.

After the victory he proceeded to London, where he was greeted on his arrival with loud acclamations. A circumstance commonly related of him might lead us to suppose that he scarcely expected so cordial a reception; but the statement, though it has been frequently repeated, is entirely without foundation. "The mayor and companies of the city," says lord Bacon in his Life of Henry VII., "received him at "Shoreditch; whence, with great and honorable atten-"dance, and troops of noblemen and persons of quality, "he entered the city, himself not being on horseback "or in any open chair or throne, but in a close "chariot, as one that, having been sometimes an "enemy to the whole state, and a proscribed person, "chose rather to keep state, and strike a reverence "into people, than to fawn upon them." Lord Bacon never mentions his authorities; but Speed, who wrote his History of Great Britain about the same time as

[1] See pp. 37, 38.

Bacon his Life of Henry VII.[1], says something of the same sort, and gives a reference to the source of his information. "Henry staid not," says Speed, "in ceremonious greetings and popular acclamations, "which, it seems, he did purposely eschew; for that, as "Andreas saith, he entered *covertly*, meaning *belike*, "in a horse-litter or close chariot." Thus it will be seen that the close chariot, set down as a fact in Bacon, is in Speed no more than a conjecture grounded upon the single word "covertly," or "latenter," which he quotes in the margin from Bernard André. But the passage in Bernard André, (which is printed at page 35 of this volume,) has been misread in the MS.; the word which André uses is not "latenter," but "lætanter"; and whatever may have been Henry's manner to the people, the story of the covered chariot must be held purely imaginary.[2]

Insecurity of his position.

It is very certain, however, that Henry had much to fear, if not from the people, at least from the caprice and factiousness of the nobles. The extraordinary mutations of fortune that had been experienced by the last four kings might have convinced even a less sagacious monarch that the crown could only be held by at best a precarious tenure. Henry VI. had spent many miserable years in prison, and was ruthlessly murdered at last; Edward IV., at what appeared to be the height of his prosperity, had been suddenly driven from his kingdom; Edward V. had

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[1] Speed's History appeared in 1611; lord Bacon's not till 1622. Nevertheless, Bacon's work was written, or at least partly so, when Speed's was published, for the latter sometimes quotes Bacon's MS.

[2] This error is of importance as proving that (1) either Speed consulted Bernard André in MS., and Bacon made use of his notes; or (2) Bacon made an extract in MS. which Speed made use of; or (3) both of them followed an inaccurate transcript. Considering that Bacon's inaccuracy here and in another instance which will be mentioned, is an amplification of Speed's, and that Speed often quotes Bernard André, translating his very words and placing his name in the margin, I have very little doubt that the first hypothesis is the true one.

been deposed and murdered; Richard III. had to fight for his crown, and fell. What hope could Henry entertain of a more secure possession? His title was Lancastrian. The enormous power of the nobles could not but occasion him anxiety. The stability of the throne depended upon them, and they were not to be relied on. They had combined for the time in his favor; but only the strictest vigilance, he knew, could prevent future combinations against him.

His policy.

Hence it was that his government was in a great measure directed to depress the very power that raised him to the throne. The tradition mentioned by lord Bacon of his inflicting a heavy fine upon the earl of Oxford for entertaining him with greater magnificence than the law allowed appears quite in accordance with his general policy. Towards mean offenders he was merciful; in men of birth or station a fault was not to be passed over. It is a worse charge against him that birth alone was sometimes an offence in his eyes. He imprisoned the young earl of Warwick without law, and executed him at last without justice. But as a matter of mere policy there can hardly be a doubt that he was right. He could not afford to humor the Yorkists by the theory that he reigned in right of his wife; but after her, and the other daughters of Edward IV., the earl of Warwick had the best claim to the crown.[1] Even while Warwick was in prison, his name appeared to be the most powerful watchword of rebellion. By the rumor that he had escaped, Simnel for some time reigned like a king; and it is said that Perkin Warbeck also personated the earl before he attempted the more extravagant imposture of personating the mur-

[1] The attainder of Warwick's father the duke of Clarence was no objection; for Henry himself had been attainted before he came to the crown, and the judges ruled that the mere possession of the crown was sufficient to purge any such defects. Indeed if there was any truth in Richard III.'s plea that the children of Edward IV. were illegitimate, then Warwick's title was a better one than even that of Henry's queen.

dered duke of York. Indeed there can be little question that both those singular rebellions were intended to make Warwick king; and had Henry done no more than place him in honorable confinement the injustice might have been excused by the necessity of self-preservation. But after years of imprisonment, which, lasting from boyhood to manhood, had deprived him of all knowledge of the world, the unhappy earl fell a victim to a wild scheme which was proposed for his escape. His desire of freedom was a crime. He had broken the letter of the law in assenting to the project. He pleaded guilty, and suffered as a traitor.

Union of the Houses of York and Lancaster.

But Henry was not naturally cruel; only cold. With a perfect knowledge of the difficulties of his position, he immediately on his accession proceeded to take those means which would most effectually strengthen himself and repair the shattered vessel of the state. His first object was to have his title confirmed by the ceremony of coronation, and by act of parliament; after that, to marry the princess Elizabeth. Whatever weight he would fain have attached to his own independent title, it is evident that the marriage owed all its popularity to the tranquillising effect it was expected to have within the kingdom. An ardent hope that it would effectually extinguish the last embers of civil discord appears to have been the universal feeling. The few literary productions of the time are so full of this feeling that they may almost be said to contain nothing else. One of the most accomplished scholars of the day, John de Giglis, afterwards bishop of Worcester, wrote an elegant Latin epithalamium[1] on the occasion, in which he represented the parliament of England as supplicating Henry to marry Elizabeth in order to avert the horrors of civil war. Another, named Petrus Carme-

[1] MS. Harl. 336.

lianus, a native of Brescia, who had been in England from the time of Edward the Fourth, told the nation, in a poetical epistle[1] written on the birth of prince Arthur, that God had at length taken pity on her miserable condition, and determined to put an end to scenes of slaughter unparalleled even in the wars of Marius and Sylla. The same feeling will be found no less strongly expressed in Bernard André, where he speaks of the birth of prince Arthur; for though the union of the Roses was begun when Henry married Elizabeth, there was no assurance that it would prove lasting till the latter had borne him a son.

Yorkist conspiracies.

The strength of that union, however, had even yet to be tried. The leading members of the House of York were by no means satisfied. Whether from merely selfish views, or indisposition to acknowledge a female heir, or from a belief in the illegitimacy of the children of Edward the Fourth, they showed a manifest desire to set up another claimant to the throne. They also resented the imprisonment of the earl of Warwick; and, in order to try the sympathies of the people, they caused it to be proclaimed that Warwick had escaped. A young man of mean origin was procured to personate the earl; he was sent over to Ireland, supported by the Geraldines, and crowned as king in Christchurch Cathedral, Dublin; but when an invasion of England was attempted in his favor, his short-lived triumph was at an end.

His success, however, had been sufficient to encourage a hope that more might be expected from a better concerted project, and accordingly a few years later Perkin Warbeck was set up; whose career in the character of duke of York was certainly a remarkable

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[1] MS. in Grenville Library, Brit. Mus.

one,[1] though not altogether so marvellous as it has in later times been represented. There seems very little doubt that he had some sincere believers in his own day; among whom, on the testimony of Bernard André, we may rank king James the Fourth of Scotland. Indeed the conduct of that king can scarcely be accounted for on any other supposition than that he was for a time convinced of Perkin's pretensions. He not only undertook an invasion of England in his favor, but gave him his own cousin Catherine Gordon in marriage. It is, however, abundantly evident that the adventurer found little favor in England. Sir William Stanley, it is true, appears to have given him some countenance: he was doubtless a double dealer towards Henry as he had been towards Richard III. The dean of St. Paul's, and a few other factious priests, also favored Perkin; they presumed upon the privileges of their order. But his followers were not really numerous, and the bulk of them appear to have been foreigners.

The story of Warbeck exaggerated.

Indeed, this story of Perkin Warbeck, I more than suspect, has, like other marvellous tales, gained considerably in the telling. The surmise of some modern writers that he was no impostor, but the true duke of York, is almost justified by the manner in which his history is related. The account given in lord Bacon's History of Henry VII. is the real origin of what is said of him by the generality of later historians; and certainly, with lord Bacon before us, it is easy enough to indulge, like Walpole, in "Historic Doubts." The elaborate training, for instance, that Margaret is said to have given to her pupil that he might act

[1] So remarkable that no original document bearing upon it can be void of interest. I have, therefore, inserted at the end of this volume (Appendix A.) a copy of the instrument by which the duchess of Burgundy appealed to the pope in his favor.

his part with consistency, and tell his story without varying, may very well strike the reader as a clumsy fiction to account for facts which could not be denied, and which, if Perkin were the true duke of York, would require no explanation at all. "She informed "him," says lord Bacon, "of all the circumstances and "particulars that concerned the person of Richard "duke of York which he was to act; describing unto "him the personages, lineaments, and features of the "king and queen, his pretended parents, and of his "brothers and sisters, and divers others that were "nearest him in his childhood, together with all pas-"sages, some secret, some common, that were fit for a "child's memory, until the death of king Edward. "Then she added the particulars of the time, from "the time of the king's death until he and his brother "were committed to the Tower, as well during the "time he was abroad as while he was in sanctuary. "As for the times while he was in the Tower, and "the manner of his brother's death, she knew they were "things that a very few could control; and, therefore, "she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely "tale of those matters, warning him not to vary "from it. It was agreed likewise between them what "account he should give of his peregrination abroad, "intermixing many things which were true, and such "as they knew others could testify, for the credit of "the rest, but still making them hang together with "the part he was to play. She taught him, likewise, "how to avoid sundry captious and tempting ques-"tions which were like to be asked of him; but in this "she found him of himself so nimble and shifting as "she trusted much to his own wit and readiness, and "therefore labored the less in it."

Now, if Warbeck's personation of the duke of York was really so perfect that it required all this to account for it, it is surely both a simpler and more rational

hypothesis that he was no impostor at all. The one theory is at least as good as the other; for it is clear that there could be no direct evidence of the secret tuition given by Margaret to her pupil, and if such a statement as the above had been put forth at the time it could only serve to show that the facts were extremely difficult to be accounted for by any but Perkin's friends.

It was not put forth at the time. Warbeck's acting was by no means so good as to require it. In a letter to queen Isabella of Castile he showed himself ignorant of the exact age of the character he was personating, by stating that he was nine years old, instead of eleven, at the time of his brother's murder.[1] The statements of lord Bacon are merely an exaggeration of those of Hall and Polydore Vergil, whose words, properly understood, only imply that the duchess taught him something about the affairs of England and the history of the House of York, so that at last he was able to pass himself off for a member of that family. Thus Polydore tells us:—

"Hunc Margarita aptum esse existimans quem con-
" fingeret esse illum Edouardi regis sui fratris filium
" ducem Eboracensem, cui nomen fuit Ricardus, apud se
" aliquandiu occulte tenuit, docuitque ita diligenter de
" rebus Anglicis, deque Eboracensis domus institutis
" atque genere, ut ille postea omnia memoria teneret,
" facile narraret, mores repræsentaret, faceretque apud
" omnes fidem per ea, se in Eboracensi familia pro-
" creatum; quia hoc generi hominum natura quasi
" datum est ut qui sunt ejus stirpis, cupide suorum
" majorum laudes consequi nitantur."

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[1] See the letter, and Sir F. Madden's remarks upon it, in Archæologia, vol. xxvii. pp. 156–8, 161–2.

Which Hall, writing a little later, freely translates as follows:

"Therefore the duchess, thinking to have gotten God "by the foot when she had the Devil by the tail, "and adjudging this young man to be a mete organ "to convey her purpose, and one not unlike to be the "duke of York, son to her brother king Edward, which "was called Richard, kept him a certain space with her "privily, and him with such diligence instructed, both "of the secrets and common affairs of the realm of "England, and of the lineage, descent, and order of "the House of York, that he, like a good scholar, "not forgetting his lesson, could tell all that was "taught him promptly without any difficulty or sign "of any subornation; and, besides, he kept such a "princely countenance, and so counterfeit a majesty "royal, that all men in manner did firmly believe "that he was extracted of the noble house and family "of the dukes of York. For surely it was a gift given "to that noble progeny as of nature in the root "planted that all the sequel of that line and stock "did study and devise how to be equivalent in honor "and fame with their forefathers and noble prede-"cessors."

This is all we are told about Perkin's tuition by writers who lived near the time, and it must be remarked that even when Polydore wrote the adventures of Perkin Warbeck must have been a very old story. Moreover, Polydore was not in England at the time they happened, and must have trusted to the memories of persons then living, who possibly assigned a trifle more efficacy to the intrigues of the duchess than was really due to them. But neither Polydore's words nor Hall's, nor indeed those of any writer before lord Bacon, at all justify the minute description which that author gives of his training, and which, supported by his great name, has been received for history ever since.

Walpole's argument founded on lord Bacon's errors.

Hence, I think, much of the ingenious reasoning of Horace Walpole, who is at pains to show in his "Historic Doubts" by what a number of methods Perkin's pretensions, if not genuine, might have been confuted, must lose its force. It is an argument, not from the facts of history, but from the statements of lord Bacon. We have no reason to believe that the imposture was really so successful as to be worth confuting by irrefragable evidence; and the assertion of Walpole that the duchess could not have told Perkin what passed in the Tower may be admitted without crediting his pretensions.

Another error of lord Bacon in treating of this subject has already been pointed out by Sir Frederic Madden. Bernard André (p. 65. of this volume) tells us that Perkin was brought up in England by a Jew named Edward, who had afterwards been baptized, and to whom Edward the Fourth had stood godfather. Even Speed has confused this plain piece of information, telling us that Warbeck was the *son* of a converted Jew; and lord Bacon has not only fallen into this error, but has also committed the egregious blunder of making Perkin himself king Edward's godson. This, of course, does not escape Walpole's criticism. "Can one help laughing," says he, "at being told that a king called Edward gave the name of Peter to his godson?" Nor does the mistake end here; for lord Bacon adds a conjecture of his own (which Hume further improves by giving it as an opinion of contemporaries), that Perkin was not only king Edward's godson but his son. And, as conjecture leads to conjecture, Walpole has drawn from this the inference that his likeness to king Edward could not be denied!

There is yet one more point on which the misconceptions of lord Bacon have furnished an argument to the author of "Historic Doubts." On Perkin's appearance, we are told, Henry endeavoured to expose

the idleness of his pretensions by investigating the circumstances of the murder of the princes, so as to prove beyond all doubt that the duke of York was dead. The result, if we take lord Bacon's account of it, can hardly be said to have been very satisfactory.

"Thus it stood. There were but four persons that "could speak upon knowledge to the murder of the "duke of York; Sir James Tyrell (the employed man "from king Richard), John Dighton and Miles Forest, "his servants (the two butchers or tormentors), and "the priest of the Tower that buried them. Of which "four, Miles Forest and the priest were dead, and "there remained alive only Sir James Tyrell and John "Dighton. These two the king caused to be com-"mitted to the Tower, and examined touching the "manner of the death of the two innocent princes. "They agreed both in a tale (as the king gave out) "to this effect," &c.

"As the king gave out!" It is impossible to deny that the parenthesis is very suspicious. Still more so what follows a little lower down:

"Thus much was then delivered abroad to be the "effect of those examinations. But the king never-"theless made no use of them in his declarations; "whereby, as it seems, those examinations left the "business somewhat perplexed. And as for Sir James "Tyrell he was soon after beheaded in the Tower yard "for other matters of treason; but John Dighton "(*who, it seemeth, spake best for the king*) was forth-"with set at liberty, and was the principal means of "divulging this tradition."

If this be true, does it not go far to justify the argument of Walpole, that Dighton "was some low mercenary wretch hired to assume the guilt of a crime he had not committed," and that Tyrell was too honorable to do the same? If Tyrell and Dighton were

at this time believed to be the murderers, and Henry, with all his efforts, could produce no more satisfactory proof that the murder was really perpetrated, he must be held to have failed indeed. But where is the proof that Tyrell and Dighton were examined? No writer before lord Bacon mentions it. There is no evidence that they were at this time so much as suspected. On the contrary Walpole truly notices that Tyrell held under Henry the Seventh the office of captain of Guisnes, and was employed by him in an expedition against Flanders. Such favor could hardly have been shown to a reputed regicide. But if Walpole had known that even after Warbeck had been taken and confessed his imposture Tyrell was sent on an embassy to Maximilian,[1] he would not have built so much upon Bacon's blundering statements. The murder of the poor young princes was a deed performed in secret. The details of it were first related in More's History of Richard the Third, which was written about twenty years after Warbeck's first appearance, and even then were not given as certain, but only as vouched for on very strong testimony.[2] So that it may well be doubted if the instruments of that vile deed were ever suspected till 1502,[3] when Tyrell was executed as an adherent of the earl of Suffolk, and probably confessed his former crime before he suffered.[4]

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[1] See Rymer, XII. 705.

[2] "I shall rehearse you the dolorous end of those babes, not after every way that I have heard, but after that way that I have so heard by such men and such means as me thinketh it were hard but it should be true." More's Richard III., p. 127. Singer's edit., 1821.

[3] The bones of the murdered princes were discovered in the reign of Charles II. in precisely such a situation as More says they were deposited in by the priest, viz., at the foot of a staircase.

[4] I am also at a loss to find Bacon's authority for saying that at this time Forest and the priest were dead. The fact itself is probable enough, but is not supported by the testimony of any earlier writer, and I am inclined to think lord Bacon

If, then, we divest the story of Perkin Warbeck of those startling features which have been ascribed to it by lord Bacon, we only find that he was one out of a series of impostors, rather cleverer than the rest. Perkin was not the last any more than he was the first. Ralph Wulford personated the earl of Warwick even when Perkin was in prison. Possibly there were other pretenders, concerning whom history is silent; certainly there were other conspiracies to liberate the earl of Warwick. It was, doubtless, the alarm thus created that caused Warwick to be put to death.

The capture of Warbeck concludes the most eventful period of Henry's reign, and with it either André or his transcriber paused in his labors, leaving the Life of Henry VII. an imperfect fragmentary production. We must now turn to the other contents of our volume for further light upon the history of this reign.

MS. of Machado's Journals.

The Journals of Roger Machado are transcribed from a small quarto paper MS. belonging to the Arundel Collection preserved in the College of Arms.[1] The hand is a somewhat rugged one, and the matter, being merely a set of rough notes, perhaps not intended for any eye but the author's, is not decorated with illuminations or ornaments of any kind. Generally speaking, it is very legible, though in some parts the writing is faint. The chief difficulties of the text arise from the extraordinary spelling, which is such as sometimes to occasion a doubt as to the word the author really

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must have written it from a hazy recollection of the following passage, in which More mentions the fate of the assassins. "For, first, to begin with the ministers; Miles Forest at St. Martin's piecemeal rotted away. Dighton, indeed, yet walketh on alive in good possibility to be hanged ere he die. But Sir James Tyrell died at Tower Hill, beheaded for treason." This, however, as already mentioned, was written twenty years after Warbeck's appearance, and says nothing of the priest.

[1] Vol. LI. of that collection.

intended. To assist the reader I have supplied accents, apostrophes, and cedillas, in which the MS. itself is wholly deficient, as is also the MS. of "Les Douze Triomphes."

These journals, along with some other matters, are entered in what appears to be a private memorandum or common-place book of Machado's, the first entry in which is an account of the funeral of Edward the Fourth, imperfect at the beginning. The watermark on the paper is a hand and star. The last sheet[1] contains two blank leaves of the original paper still uncut, which are curious as showing that the manner of folding paper in books was similar to that which prevails at present. It was probably owing to the leaves being uncut when he was writing that the author has at one place passed over two pages, as noticed at page 178. This, taken in connexion with the merely private interest of other of the memoranda, and the general want of neatness observable throughout, seem to indicate that the writer penned the narrative, not with the view of showing his MS. to others, but merely for his own private satisfaction, perhaps to refresh his memory in relating the story of his travels by word of mouth, whenever the king or any one else should call upon him to do so.

His life.

Machado was a foreigner, born, probably, in the South of France.[2] Some have supposed that he was a native of Britanny, and came in with Henry, having been his herald before he came to the crown; but this is mere conjecture. In the description he gives of the funeral of Edward the Fourth in the same volume from which the journals are derived there are passages

[1] The last, that is to say, of Machado's book, which is now bound up in one volume with Stowe's transcript of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

[2] So I infer from the half Spanish dialect he sometimes uses.

which prove he was present at that ceremony. At the end of that same year (1483) he was over at Calais in the suite of one William Rosse, appointed by Richard the Third to provide for the victualling of the town.[1] At that time, it appears, he filled the office of Leicester herald. But very shortly afterwards he must have forsaken king Richard's service and entered that of the marquis of Dorset, by whom he was employed in various missions, doubtless with the view of promoting the earl of Richmond's interests. Concerning this part of his life all I have been able to ascertain is contained in the following memoranda of expenses written by himself in the same volume from which his journals are derived.

" Anno 1485.

Item, Monsieur le marquis de Dorset me doit pour vij journées que je chevaulchay pour luy à la ville de Gant de la ville de Bruges pour parler à Monsieur de Roumond pour ses affaires - - j lb. iij s. iiij d.

Item, j'ay vendu pour le service de Monsieur le marquis vj tasces d'argent de vj honses la pièce, qui montent toutes vj à ix lb. g.; pour la façon xvj d. la honce, somme, ij lb. viij s.

Somme totalis - - - xj lb. viij s. 00 d.

Memorandum que je suis party de la ville de Bruges devers Monsieur Jaques de Lucemborgh et Madame de Mans en service de mon dict seigneur Monsieur

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[1] "Ruy Machadus alias dictus Leycestre herault, alias dictus Rogerus Machado, etc., qui in obsequio Regis in comitiva dilecti et fidelis regis Willielmi Rosse armigeri, vitellarii villæ et castri Cales' et marchiarum ibidem, super salva custodia et vitellatione villæ et castri Cales' ac marchiarum prædictarum moratur, habet literas regis patentes de protectione cum clausula Volumus per unum annum duraturas. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xv. die Decembris." *Rot. Franc.* 1 *Ric. III. m.* (14).

le marquis le ij^{me} jour de Feverier 1484. (This would be 1485 according to our modern computation).

Item, Monsieur le marquis me doit pour le argent que j'ay commencé de paier en commencement de paiement à son paintre, pour commancement de paiement - - - - ij lb. g.

Item, Monsieur le marquis me doit pour x journées que je chevaulchay et en ces mesaiges de la ville de Bruges jusques à la cité de Lan en Lanoy et au chasteau de Porsnay - - - j lb. xiij s iiij d."

There is also, dated December 1484, a payment of 2*s.* 11*d.* for a cartload of hay "pour mest^{r} Berquelley.[1]" In the same year we have an inventory headed "L'estoffaige de mon hostel, anno 1484," by which it appears that he was married, as it contains some mention of articles of his wife's wardrobe.

Though Henry the Seventh, a little before his accession, had some reason to be displeased with the marquis of Dorset, whom Richard the Third had nearly won over to his cause, it was natural that one who had previously quitted King Richard's service for that of the marquis should not be overlooked by the new king. Accordingly we find Machado, after Henry's accession, bearing the official name of Richmond instead of Leicester herald, and uniting therewith the office of Norroy king of arms, from which on the 24th of January 1494, he was promoted to that of Clarenceux with a salary of 20*l.* a year.[2] It is

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[1] Qu. Sir William Berkeley of Beverston, who was concerned in Buckingham's rebellion against Richard III.? See the Act of Attainder, 1 Ric. III., Rolls of Parliament, vol. vi. p. 245.

[2] *MS. Collections of Anstis*, Heralds' College. I cannot find the grant of this office on the Patent Rolls, but I have no doubt of the date, as the office of Norroy or chief herald was immediately after granted to Christopher Carlill, alias Carlisle herald, by patent 21st February 9 Hen. VII. *m.* (16).

said that Henry even offered to make him Garter king of arms, which he declined on account of his imperfect acquaintance with the English language. "For this modesty," says Noble,[1] "Henry obliged Sir "Thomas Wriothesley" (who held that office) "to give "him a pension of 20 marks. When repeated alterca- "tions had subsisted between them relative to Garter's "visiting Clarenceux's provinces, he accepted from "Garter 40 marks yearly payable out of his fees "arising from such visitation; but Sir Thomas, to "avoid appearing the deputy of Clarenceux, and he to "retain some authority as Clarenceux, applied jointly "for and obtained a bill signed by that sovereign "giving them equal powers to execute the office; but, "like all other divided authority, it still led to much "altercation and mutual upbraiding."

It was while he was still Norroy and not yet promoted to the higher dignity of Clarenceux that Machado was despatched on those embassies which form the subject of his journals; and they serve to show the high esteem in which he was held by his sovereign. In the embassy to Spain and Portugal he took no leading part, but was appointed only to accompany and attend upon the envoys. His inferiority to them is evident throughout. The presents he receives are of inferior value; and when they are ordered to be seated before the king and queen of Castile he is commanded to place himself behind them standing. But in his first embassy to Britanny next year he appears to have been treated with more consideration. He was associated with Sir Robert Clifford, the subtle agent by whom a few years later Henry detected the treason of Sir William Stanley; but the task of explaining to Marshal De Rieux the

[1] History of the College of Arms, p. 111.

object of their mission (probably because he could speak French better) was entrusted to him. The Marshal laid their propositions before the three estates of the duchy, and the result was that Richmond was sent back to England without Clifford to urge upon Henry the immediate dispatch of his promised succours to Britanny. He had no sooner returned than Henry employed him again to carry back his answer.

In later years we find him employed in even more confidential missions. He appears once to have been sent to the archduke Philip, but for what object is unknown.[1] On the 10th of August 1494 he was despatched by Henry to Charles VIII. of France in reply to an offer of assistance made by the French king in the event of Maximilian attempting the invasion of England in favor of Perkin Warbeck. Charles himself had not long before countenanced Perkin's pretensions, and he had now enough to occupy him in his expedition for the conquest of Naples. Henry, while he politely acknowledged his goodwill, replied somewhat to the same effect as the bull in the fable to the fly that was resting on his horns. Machado was instructed to say, "In regard to the "said *garçon* the king makes no account of him, "nor of all his [intrigues ?],[2] because he cannot be "hurt or annoyed by him; for there is no nobleman, "gentleman, or person of any condition in the realm

[1] My authority is the following note in a MS. memoir of him by Anstis in his collections for the History of the Officers of Arms. "It hath not been inserted because the collector did not take the date of an original signed at the top and bottom of the instructions delivered to Richmond King of Arms of Clarenceux then going to the Archduke." This is probably a document (now much mutilated) in the Cottonian volume, Galba. B ii. ff. 108, 109.

[2] The Cottonian MS. in which these instructions are entered, Cal. D. VI., has been very much injured by the fire.

" of England who does not know that it is a
" manifest and evident imposture similar to the other
" which the duchess dowager of Burgundy made when
" she sent Martin Swart over to England. And it
" is notorious that the said *garçon* is of no consan-
" guinity or kin to the late king Edward, but is a
" native of the town of Tournay and son of a boat-
" man who is named Werbec, as the king is certainly
" assured, as well by those who are acquainted with his
" life and habits as by others his companions who
" are at present with the king; and others still are
" beyond sea who have been brought up with him in
" their youth, who have publicly declared at length
" how . . . . . [*a few words are wanting*] the king
" of the Romans. And therefore the subjects of
" the king hold him in derision, and not without
" reason. And if it should so be that the king of
" the Romans should have the intention to give him
" assistance to invade England (which the king can
" scarcely believe, seeing that it is derogatory to the
" honor of any prince to encourage such an impostor)
" he will neither gain honor nor profit by such an
" undertaking. And the king is very sure that the
" said king of the Romans and the nobility about him
" are well aware of the imposition, and that he only
" does it on account of the displeasure he feels at the
" treaty made by the king with his said brother and
" cousin the king of France."[1]

Machado was at the same time to offer Henry's good offices for a settlement of the dispute between

[1] Archæologia, XXVII. 165, 166. This exactly agrees with what is said in the Douze Triomphes regarding Maximilian's attempts to keep England and France at variance. Machado was also instructed to seek a private interview with the French king that he might the better convince him that Maximilian's only object was to create discord between the two countries, for which he was desirous if he could to set another king upon the throne of England.

Charles and Ferdinand of Spain with regard to the kingdom of Naples; but this overture led to nothing.

At the commencement of the year 1495 he was again despatched to France, with instructions dated 30th December 1494, on another mission, the main object of which appears to have been to obtain information for Henry as to the state of affairs abroad in France, and the Venetian, Florentine, and other Italian States, and to assure the king of France still further of the perfect tranquillity of Henry's own dominions, both in England and in Ireland, notwithstanding the intrigues of Warbeck. After discharging this mission towards Charles VIII. he was to proceed to Rome.[1]

He was again accredited to France on the 5th March 1496 with instructions relative to a proposed personal interview between Charles and Henry, an overture for a marriage between the Dauphin and the princess Margaret, and the repayment of a loan of money made by Henry to the French king.

It was often part of Henry's policy to give private instructions to envoys to make suggestions which should not appear to proceed from him, but simply from themselves. Machado was instructed in this manner to remind Charles of a promise he had made to take Henry's part against Scotland in the event of the King of Scots attempting anything to Henry's prejudice, and to intimate that information had been received that James intended to attempt the capture of Berwick. He was also to sound Charles's minister, the Cardinal of St. Malo, relative to an offer made by some French gentlemen, in the event of the Scotch king declaring war, to deliver into Henry's hand the son of the duke of Albany, who was then in France.[2]

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[1] Archæol. XXVII. 167.: MS. Cal. D. VI.

[2] MS. Cott., Cal. D. VI. ff. 26-28. Archæol. XXVII. 179-181.

The remaining notices of Machado are very scanty. In an unpublished memoir[1] of him by Anstis, Garter king of arms in the reign of George II., he is said to have been sent to the King of Denmark in the 18th year of Henry VII. (1502 or 1503). Bernard André tells us (p. 104 of this volume) that he entertained splendidly the French ambassador on the 9th of January 1508. In the 24th year of Henry VII. he obtained from the crown an annuity of £10; which in the first year of Henry VIII. appears to have been increased to 20 marks during pleasure.[2] According to Noble the date of his death was 1516; but 1510 or 1511 is a more likely date, as Benoilt succeeded him as Clarenceux in the beginning of the latter year.[3]

Value of his journals.

With regard to the historical value of his journals, they are their own best expositors. Being evidently written with no further object than the statement of minute details, they afford precisely that description of testimony which is most generally useful in the investigation of facts. They also illustrate manners, and are not a little remarkable philologically in respect of their language. We must not look to them, however, for much information as to the political affairs of the time. Machado must have known more of these than the multitude, but he has said nothing. The things he thought proper to record were the incidents of his journeys, not their objects.

The embassy sent to Spain and Portugal on the 21st December 1488 was commissioned to conclude leagues with both those countries, treat for a marriage between prince Arthur and the princess Catherine, and carry the Order of the Garter to the King of Portugal.[4]

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[1] Preserved in the College of Arms.

[2] MS. Collections of Anstis, Coll. of Arms: Patent 17 Aug. 1 Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. (16.)

[3] I have searched for his will at Doctors' Commons without success.

[4] See Rymer, XII. 351, 353.

Henry attached great importance to foreign alliances, and it is evident that from the first he regarded the friendship of Spain in particular as of the highest value. The large proportion of the materials of this volume which relate to that country is owing to the intimate political relations then existing between Spain and England.[1] The marriage of prince Arthur to Catherine of Arragon was projected at a time when the former was only two and the latter three years old.

State of Britanny in Henry VII.'s time.

The two embassies to Britanny in 1490 had reference to the affairs of that unfortunate duchy, which was then carrying on an unequal struggle with France, and was destined soon to lose its independence. It was at that time ruled over by the duchess Anne, who had only recently succeeded. Her father, duke Francis II., died on the 9th September 1488. He was a weak sovereign, who by giving an asylum to the duke of Orleans and other French rebels had alienated the affections of his nobility, and afforded Charles VIII. a pretext for invading his dominions. Just before his death he had been compelled by the disastrous battle of St. Aubin to sue for peace with France; which though he obtained on what seemed very moderate conditions, it was not difficult to foresee that war would soon break out again. By his will he appointed Marshal de Rieux guardian of his two daughters Anne and Isabel, whom he nevertheless placed more immediately under the care of the countess de Laval. The administration of the government he left to the marshal and the counts de Dunois and de Comminges. Unhappily they were a council that could not agree. The marshal suspected Dunois of too great a leaning to France; but the duchess trusted the latter, and regarded the marshal as a traitor.

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[1] The despatches contained in Appendix B. are of particular importance as illustrating these relations.

In 1489 France renewed her aggressions, and the duchess was compelled to seek help from foreign powers. Among others she applied to England, and Henry, who had hitherto sent nothing but promises, at length resolved to give her active support. Machado's two embassies were in the succeeding year, and the substance of what he tells us is as follows. He and Sir Robert Clifford met Marshal de Rieux at Vannes[1] on the 18th of July, and had an interview with him on the subject of their commission. The marshal afterwards communicated with his council, and after supper brought Sir Robert to the presence of the prince of Orange and Madame de Laval. Later in the day the marshal had a private conversation with Sir Robert and Machado, in which the latter more fully explained to him what were their instructions. With the purport of these the marshal declared himself satisfied, and made them known next day to the estates of the duchy at that time assembled at Vannes. On the 20th the marshal brought the English envoys into communication with the governor of Auxerre and the controller of Britanny, and the result of their deliberations was, that Machado was sent back to England to hasten the promised auxiliaries from that quarter. He had no sooner returned than Henry sent him again to Britanny, with a message to Marshal de Rieux. On going thither he found, much to his dissatisfaction, that the Marshal had in the interval gone to France to treat for peace. The latter returned, however, to Nantes on the 1st of September, and he saw him the following day. When he had

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[1] The marshal had been in disgrace the preceding year, having refused the duchess entrance into Nantes on the plea that he had reason to suspect Dunois, who accompanied her, of conspiring to deliver her and the city into the hands of Charles VIII. He was this year reconciled, and received into favor. — *Lobineau, Hist. de Bretagne.*

delivered his message, the marshal requested him to go with him to the duchess, and make it known to her also, which they had an opportunity of doing on the 21st of September at Rennes. Machado then went to Nantes to have a conference with the Sire D'Albret and others, and returned on the 1st of October to the duchess, whom he finally parted from on the fifth to return to England.

We now come to two documents of a very peculiar character, belonging to the latter part of Henry's reign. His queen, Elizabeth of York, died on the 11th of February 1503. Whether this event, as has been supposed, diminished his security in the possession of the crown, we cannot say. He sought to repair his loss by a second matrimonial alliance. During his later years he entertained more than one project of the sort, which all came to nothing; but his first thoughts were directed to the young queen of Naples, widow of Ferdinand the Second. To ascertain how far she was likely to prove a suitable match for him, he sent three gentlemen into Spain on a very confidential mission. By way of introduction they were to take with them letters from the princess Catherine both to the young queen herself and to the old queen of Naples her mother. They were instructed to note particularly the style in which these two queens lived, and whatever they could learn about their income and expenditure; to observe the young queen closely, and report her age, stature, and personal appearance; to describe her general complexion, the colour of her hair, the form of her nose and each individual feature. If reasons of state were Henry's chief inducement to marry, it is at least abundantly evident that he was not indifferent to personal qualities.

The instructions given to these envoys, and the report drawn up by them in reply to the several articles, will be found in this volume (pp. 223–239). The

answers were very particular on every point but one. The ambassadors were unsuccessful in obtaining a portrait of the young queen, which Henry had desired them to ask for as on the behalf of the princess Catherine, her cousin, who had never seen her. The old queen was so strongly opposed to this proposition, that they found it impossible to urge it, and the king had to content himself with their report. By it the young queen appears to have had but one disqualification. She was healthy, beautiful, and well formed, but moneyless. Her father Ferdinand had given her a perpetual income of 30,000 ducats a year, and 40,000 ducats to her mother; but since the kingdom of Naples had been conquered by Ferdinand the Catholic these revenues had been applied to the pay of the army, and the two queens were dependent upon a moderate pension out of his coffers.

and Ferdinand of Arragon.

The same ambassadors (so we may call them, though they do not appear to have been officially accredited) had another commission to discharge in Spain.[1] King Ferdinand had recently become, like Henry himself, a widower. Queen Isabella died on the 26th of November 1504. As her marriage with Ferdinand had united the crowns of Castile and Arragon, on her death these were again divided, the former descending to her daughter Joan, wife of the archduke Philip, while the latter remained to Ferdinand. The event thus made a change not only in Spain but in Europe. Henry was curious to know how Ferdinand would act under the circumstances; whether he meant to relinquish the government of Castile entirely, or retain it in his own hands for life, as administrator for his daughter. Henry had good reason to be interested in Ferdinand's behalf; for though prince Arthur was dead, the princess

[1] See pp. 240–281.

Catherine and her rich dowry still remained in England, and already that second marriage had been contracted, the dissolution of which in the succeeding reign brought with it the downfall of the pope's supremacy. Ferdinand, besides, had been a constant ally and firm friend of Henry. The latter, therefore, gave his envoys very particular instructions to inquire not only about the above matter but about everything of political importance in Spain. They were to report whether Ferdinand was popular among his subjects, what factions existed among the nobles, what was the disposition of the king of Portugal towards him, and what might be the effect if the new king and queen of Castile were to arrive in their own dominions. If this event were to take place while the ambassadors were in Spain they were to prolong their stay for the purpose of making observations.

The information elicited by these instructions was of a very interesting and important nature. Ferdinand was reputed to be a wise and politic prince, and his conduct fully justified the character. Immediately on the death of his queen he not only at once resigned the crown of Castile to his daughter (which many of his subjects wished him to retain), but caused her publicly to be proclaimed queen, he himself being present at the proclamation. He had no intention, however, of giving up one jot of real power. He retained for himself the office of governor or administrator of the kingdom, in accordance, both with the will of Isabella, and, as it was said, the customary law of the land in such cases. He would continue to receive the revenues of the kingdom without rendering account to any one. Nevertheless it was possible that his power might be in some degree affected by the arrival of Philip and Joan in Spain. The people, generally, were attached to the constitutional principle of descent; and though Ferdinand, on the whole, was

a very popular sovereign, he imposed heavy taxes, which caused considerable discontent. Moreover there were factions in Spain, and many of the nobles who openly favored Ferdinand were secretly desirous of the coming of the "king archduke" and his wife. But whatever favor might be entertained towards Philip by nobles or people was entirely on account of his consort, the true heiress of the kingdom; and though many were anxious for the arrival of the two together, there were none disposed to give him a cordial reception, if, as it was said he might do, he came without her. Such are a few of the principal matters touched upon in this second report.

MSS. of the two documents.

Of these two very interesting documents only the latter is printed from the original MS. It is a folio volume preserved in the collection called "Chapter House Books" (volume A. 4. 20.) in the Public Record Office. The water-mark of the paper is a hand and star. The instructions are written in a clerk's hand, each at the head of a page, sometimes with one or two pages between, space having been left in the first instance according to the expected length of the answer which was to follow. The answers are in the handwriting of John Stile[1], who, it may be judged from some passages in the report, was probably the most active of the three ambassadors. The first leaf of the MS. is lost, but there is a transcript of the document in the Cottonian Library (MS. Vespasian, C. vi., f. 338) from which the beginning has been supplied. This transcript is in a hand of James the First's time, probably that of a clerk or amanuensis of Sir Robert Cotton.

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[1] This may be ascertained by a comparison with the addresses of Stile's despatches in the reign of Henry VIII. (MS. Cott. Vesp. C. i.

The original MS. of the document relating to the queen of Naples was doubtless similar in its general characteristics to the Chapter House book. It probably still exists; for in the middle of the last century it was stated to be in the possession of a descendant of one of the three ambassadors, by whose permission it was published in the St. James' Chronicle of the 1st of August 1761, and also as a separate pamphlet immediately afterwards. Not having access to this, I have printed it from a transcript in the Cottonian Library (MS. Vitellius, C. xi., f. 34.) in the same hand as the Cottonian transcript of the document relating to Ferdinand. This text I have corrected occasionally by another and somewhat earlier but only partial transcript (MS. Harl., 6220), noting all the variations between them and the printed copy at the bottom of the page. This earlier transcript gives only the instructions, with extracts from some of the answers; but the Cottonian transcriber has adhered strictly and fully to the original, only changing the spelling and here and there omitting a redundant word, or making such little verbal alterations as the substitution of "said" for "aforesaid," or "to" for "unto." As neither of the MSS. I have used for this document belongs to the period of Henry VII., I have printed it in modern orthography; but the spelling of the printed original is precisely similar to that of the document relating to Ferdinand in the Record Office, and is in itself sufficient proof that the reports were in both cases drawn up by the same hand.

The numbers prefixed to the instructions in both these documents have been inserted by the editor, the articles not being numbered in the Chapter House book or in either of the two Cottonian transcripts; but it is obvious by the blank in the original, noted at page 281, that the ambassadors themselves intended to number them for the purposes of reference.

Notices of John Stile.

We have said that John Stile was probably the most active of the three ambassadors, and we have shown that he drew up both reports. So ably did he perform his part in this business that it is not wonderful to find him frequently employed in after life in various matters of state. He was again sent out to Spain by Henry VII., or, it may be, continued there as his ambassador; and there he remained during the first nine years of the reign of Henry VIII. Several of his despatches during that period still exist, written in cipher.[1] A very curious one will be found printed in our Appendix. In some of the others he alludes to his own private circumstances. His allowance was five shillings a day for his expenses and twenty pence a day for his wife, whom he left behind him in England; but in consequence of the dearness of commodities in Spain he could not live and maintain his servants on less than five shillings a day, and had been obliged to borrow money. To add to his perplexities, his wife had written to him saying that she and her children must go and join him in Spain, for with all the economy she could use she found it difficult to maintain them.[2]

In the year 1512 an English army under the command of the marquis of Dorset landed in Spain, to assist the Spaniards in the conquest of Guienne, but

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[1] MS. Cott. Vesp. C. i.

[2] "And also humylly y beseche yowr most nobyl grace for [to] have yn yowr most noble remembrance my wyf and chylder, the whyche lyve porely in yowr towne of Plymmouthe, and have not where wythe for to mayntene my pore howsehold yn myn absence; for y have nother offyce nor fee, only excepte fyve schelyngys by the day to me assynyd for my dayly exspence here, the whych y do spend here wythe more many tymeys. And hyt plese your grace, my wyf hathe wretyn hyr letters unto me that onles that I do schortely fynde the mean that sche may have where wythe for to fynd my howsehold onestly in myn

found no preparations made for their reception. The marquis, as we learn from Hall, after waiting in vain for aid from Ferdinand, "called a council, and devised "how they might have beasts to draw ordnance and "carriages. Then one Sir John Stile, an Englishman, "caused to be bought 200 mulettes and asses of such "price as the Spaniards gained greatly, and when they "were put to carry they would neither bear nor draw, "for they were beasts which were not exercised afore. "Then the lord marquis much lamented the chance, for "if he had ready 200 drawing beasts he might have "run a great way in Guienne with his power, which "then was not fortified, neither of men of war, nor "munitions, nor artillery."

Stile returned to England in the spring of 1518.[1] During his residence in Spain he appears to have been knighted. Two years after his return he was appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland, which office he

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absence, that sche and my chylder wyl come hether to me, and I may cryl find them and me with the sayd fyve schelyngys for everry day, the whyche wythe grete payne dothe susstayne the chargys whyche y have here al redy; the whyche humylly I beseche your hyzghnys that hyt may be by yowr grace remembreyd." —— Stile to King Henry VIII., 9 Sept. 1509, MS. Vesp. c. i. 56–9. (Cipher).

The following entries on the patent rolls probably apply to this John Stile, though I have not seen him elsewhere mentioned in the capacities in which he is here spoken of:

Patent 18 July 3 Hen. VIII. (A.D. 1511) p. 2. m. (2). Pardon and release to John Stile, collector of customs at Plymouth and Fowey in the time of Henry VII. *alias* John Stile of London, draper, discharging him of all liabilities to the crown.

Patent 20 January 3 Hen. VIII. (A.D. 1512) p. 2. m. (11). Grant to John Stile, one of the gentlemen ushers of the chamber, and Elizabeth his wife, in survivorship, of an annuity of 40 marks out of the customs of Plymouth and Fowey.

Patent 18 October 10 Hen. VIII. (A.D. 1518.) p. 2. m. (34). Appointment of John Style, knt., as controller of the coinage ["cunagium"] and tin in cos. Cornwall and Devon, and keeper of the gaol of Lostwithiel.

[1] See Spinelly's letter of the 20th May 1518, MS. Vesp. c. i. 154.

retained till 1522.[1] Six years later we find him again mentioned by Hall. He was commanded, in what capacity does not appear, to release the Dutch vessels that had been put under arrest on the declaration of war against the Emperor in 1528. The same year, it appears by letters of his among the State Papers, he was in the Low Countries, inquiring and reporting upon various subjects connected with the commercial intercourse between them and England, These are the latest notices of him that I have found.

Reception of Philip in England.

Our next document relates to the "king archduke" and his queen, who were cast on the shores of England in a storm when on their way to visit their new dominions in 1506. Considering the interest with which Henry had inquired regarding their expected visit to Spain, we may imagine what was his satisfaction when accident thus threw them in his way. The document is a very full account, probably drawn up by a herald, of all the formalities of their reception at Windsor. It is printed from a MS. in the Cottonian library (MS. Vespasian C. XII. ff. 236. sq.), which is a transcript in a hand of James the First's time. The original MS. is not known to exist, but must evidently have been written just after the incidents it relates.

It is remarkable that this narrative, contrary to the received story, says that Philip offered to give up Edmund De la Pole, earl of Suffolk, without solicitation on Henry's part: "And that morning unaxed, the "king of Castile proferred the king to yield Ed. Rebell., "&c." Whether this outweighs the testimony of Polydore Vergil, who says that Philip consented after considerable scruples on obtaining from Henry a promise to spare Suffolk's life, I leave it to historians to determine.

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[1] State Papers, Vol. ii.

Inedited MSS. illustrative of Henry VII's reign.

We have now described the materials of which our volume is composed, and given, we hope, sufficient evidences of their value to justify their publication among the "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain." But before bringing these prefatory remarks to a close, it may still, we trust, be permitted to review briefly a few other inedited writings which may possibly assist the historian to throw some light on this remarkable reign. They are almost all of the nature of panegyrics; but even panegyrics have their value for a period when all writings are scarce.

1. We have already mentioned Petrus Carmelianus and his poem on the birth of prince Arthur[1], which is entitled "Petri Carmeliani Brixiensis Poetæ Suasoria "Lætitiæ ad Angliam pro sublatis bellis civilibus et "Arthuro principe nato." The argument is that God, compassionating the miserable state of England, lacerated with civil war, convoked a meeting of the saints in heaven to ask their opinions as to how the long standing dispute between the Houses of Lancaster and York might be composed. The saints reply, that if the Omniscient Deity cared for any of their counsels, no one was better qualified to state how the wars might be terminated than king Henry the Sixth, who knew the country and the causes of dissension, and they recommend that he should be appealed to. Henry accordingly is called upon to reply to the Supreme Being, and proposes that the two Houses should be united so as to be one House, for which an opportunity now offered that had never occurred before. Edward the Fourth was dead, who had stripped him of his kingdom. Dying, he had left his sons to the care of his brother, who had ruthlessly murdered them, and usurped the crown. The same butcher it was, says Henry,

[1] Grenville library.

who, prompt to commit every wickedness, drove his sword through my own entrails.[1] But, not to enlarge upon private injuries, he remarks there is now no male issue left of Edward IV.; his eldest daughter, who was wise and learned beyond her times, inherited her father's rights.[2] On the other hand, Henry the Sixth's only son had fallen in battle, and Henry himself been murdered; but Henry of Richmond had been preserved from the sword of Edward the Fourth. The author goes on to tell us:

"Hic puer existens placidus Richmundia proles
Ad Gallos fugiens turgida vela dedit;
Sed sua cum medium pelagi ratis ipsa secaret
Piratis casu fit nova præda maris.
Adque ducem fertur (fuerant sic fata) Britannum
Captivus veniens carceribusque datur.
Sic Tibi tunc placuit puerum objectare periclis,
Casibus et variis exagitare, Pater!
Fortius ut juvenis tolerare pericula posset
Vinceret et durus fortia cuncta labor."

And Henry concludes by recommending that the earl of Richmond should be liberated from prison, to assert his right to the kingdom, expel the tyrant, and take Elizabeth to wife. The Deity approves; and the poet

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[1] "Hic (Edward IV.) moriens fratri natos commisit utrosque;
Hos male commissos perdidit ille ferox:
Atque ubi de medio dominos geminosque nepotes
Sustulit, assumpsit non sua regna sibi.
Is est qui gladio sceleratus in ilia misso
Me quoque confodit, promptus ad omne nefas."

The testimony even of a court poet to the crimes of Richard III. and the murder of the princes, must be allowed some weight, though not, perhaps, in itself sufficient evidence.

[2] "Filia prima manet natu pulcherrima virgo
Nubilis Elizabet bis duo lustra tenens,
Quæ, docta et sapiens plus quam sua tempora poscunt,
Fratribus extinctis jus genitoris habet."

goes on to describe at length the manner in which the divine decree is executed; how the captive earl is liberated, applies to Charles VIII. for assistance, lands at Milford Haven, defeats the tyrant, is declared king, and at the request of parliament marries the princess Elizabeth. The union is at length crowned with offspring:

"Moxque tumet venter; renovat sua cornua Phœbe
Atque implet novies: nascitur ecce puer.
Nascitur ecce puer quo non generosior alter,
Seu matrem quæras, seu magis ipse patrem.
Nascitur ecce puer gemino de sanguine regum,
Firma salus regni perpetuumque decus."

And the poem terminates with an exhortation to England to rejoice on account of the prince's birth.

2. The poems of John de Giglis have also been alluded to. They are contained in a beautiful MS. upon vellum in the Harleian collection,[1] and are as follows: (1.) "Epithalamium de nuptiis serenissimi et "clementissimi Principis et Domini, Domini Henrici "Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Regis, &c. ejus "nominis Septimi et Serenissimæ Dominæ Elisabet "ejus uxoris Reginæ anno salutis m° cccc° lxxxvj° per "Johannem de Giglis." The general character of this poem may be best shown by an extract:

"Ecce dies aderat regis populusque patresque
Atria qua subeunt summis intendere rebus
Acciti. Veneranda cohors stetit ordine longo,
Pro cunctis unus tali et sic edidit ore:
'Rex patriæ, qui certa salus, qui jure regenda
Anglica sceptra tenes, crudo te hæc turba tyranno

[1] MS. Harl. 336.

Extincto dominum rerum regemque salutat,
Teque patrem patriæ dicit, veneratur, adorat,
Et regnum cessisse, Deo tibi dante, fatetur.
Ultori scelerum cognato sanguine plenus
Ad Stygias dimissus aquas placat ille nepotum
Parvorum manes, tetro data victima Diti.
Tu melior tantis hæres succedis habenis,
Qui scelere aut nullo maculasti crimine vitam.
Et tibi ab Henrico patruo sunt debita regna
Ista; equidem primusque gradus tibi cessit honoris.
Te diadema decet, manibus quoque sceptra decoris
Gestare; a proavis vel si deducere Brutis
Regna placet, titulos poteris quoque sumere justos.
Nos populus proceresque tui si digna rogare
Permittis, patriæ si qua est tibi cura cadentis,
Oramus pacem miseri, finemque malorum,
Omnis quo diro laniata est Anglia bello
Et geminæ invaluit horrenda potentia partis.
Dissidii nunc finis adest. Si munere tanto
Dignos esse velis votisque intendere justis,
Eboracensis superest clarissima virgo
Virtutis nec stirpis egens, pulcherrima toto
Corpore, cui facies grato suffusa nitore
Splendet matura multum formosa juventa
(Elisabet magni nomen dixere parentes)
Edita, quæ primo debet succedere partu
Jure domus celsæ, titulisque incumbere avitis.
Hanc tibi legitimi si jungas fœdere lecti,
Si qua pias moveant mentes præsagia veri
Pax nos certa manet; procul hinc insania bella,
Armaque civili procul hinc stillantia tabo.
Læta quies populis, veniet quoque sanctior ætas.
Qualia Saturno fuerint sub rege redibunt
Sæcula, te tali mereatur dote puella
Fulcris digna tuis. Votis intende precantum.
Prostrati pedibus sacris te poscimus omnes,
Eripe nos bellis tandem et miserere tuorum.'"

(2.) Two epigrams on the name of Arthur, and a genethliacon or birthday ode in his honor, remarkable as illustrating the importance attached to this old British name and the memories connected with it. It will be seen how Bernard André in the commencement of his work (pp. 9–11.), evidently not thinking it advisable to say much about Henry's descent from Edward the Third, goes back to his old Welsh ancestry in the times of Cadwalo and Cadwallader, and speaks of his consanguinity to foreign potentates as a subject on which many had already written. It is evident that either from policy or natural inclination Henry loved to hear his ancient pedigree talked about; and the birth and name of prince Arthur afforded an excellent opportunity for the flatteries of the poets. The prophecy that the former prince Arthur would come again is referred to as having been accomplished in the birth of this boy.

"Quicunque Arturum vates prædixerat olim
Venturum reducem, maximus ille fuit.
Consiliis Superum, jamjam cognoscere fas est,
Affuit; en dictis præstitit ipse fidem.
Arturi rediere boni non nomina tantum,
Credite, sed redeunt inclyta facta viri."[1]

3. The poems of Johannes Opicius. These are contained in an illuminated MS. in the Cottonian Collection (Vespasian. B. IV.), and consist of, (1) A heroic poem in Latin hexameters on Henry the Seventh's French war; (2) An eulogium of Henry in the form of a dialogue between Mopsus and Meliboeus; (3) An exhortation to mortals to celebrate the birthday of Christ (at the

[1] So also in Petrus Carmelianus, who uses almost the very same words in one part:—

"Arthurus rediit per sæcula tanta sepultus,
Qui regnum mundi prima corona fuit.
Ille, licet corpus terris et membra dedisset,
Vivebat toto semper in orbe tamen.
Arthurum quisquis prædixerat esse secundo
Venturum, vates maximus ille fuit."

end of which is the date 1497); (4) A hymn of praise for Henry's victory; (5) Lines on the presentation of his book to the king. These are of very little value except as an illustration of the classical style of the day. The following lines in praise of the king may be taken as a specimen:

"Jam dea belligeri clausit Pax limina Jani,
Et sedit impatiens jam super arma Furor.
Ferrea nunc nobis fugierunt tempora; sed jam
Consurgunt fatis Aurea Sæcla suis.
Jam licet e medio decerpere gaudia fonte,
Loraque lætitiæ tradere tempus adest.
Vos quoque, lactiferæ, deceat mea cura, capellæ.
Insidiis forti spernere corde lupos.
Jamque iter accipias nullis satiate, viator,
Divitiis; umbra luceque tuta via est.
Quo duce, qui forsan dicent, hæc commoda[1] nobis
Tradita sunt lætis commoda temporibus?
Septimus Albionum Henricus, qui sceptra gubernat
Quo nihil in toto clarius orbe viget.
Ille est purpurei splendor quem floris obumbrat:
Rubra potest merito dicier, ecce, Rosa;
Nam veluti rosa rubra viget virtute probandus
Non minor hic tali tam diadema licet.
Hic est qui magnas jamjam tenet orbis habenas,
In cujus gremio pax manet, arma pio.
Hic est (hunc libuit dîs rerum agnoscere causas)
Cui paucos nôrunt sæcula nostra pares.
Temporibus si sunt fidei vestigia nostris,
Illius in niveo pectore certa fides.
Si Probitas terris, pariterque Astræa morantur,
Has retinet sanctis moribus ille deas.
Somnia ne quisquam credat me fingere. Nunquid
Justitiam in terras allicit a Superis?
Hic specimen rerum, exemplum et probitatis habetur
Egregiæ, miseris spesque salusque viris.

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[1] Sic: qu. *quomodo?*

prediction: "Ipse indubitanter devotus erit et bonus " ecclesiasticus."

6. Lastly, there is a valuable English chronicle, which I hope will not long remain accessible only in MS., beginning in the year 1215 and ending in 1509, the first year of Henry VIII.[1] In form, it is precisely similar to Fabyan's chronicle, that is to say, it is a set of City annals, the events of each year forming a separate chapter, with the names of the mayor and sheriffs of London for that year at the head. In some parts even the language is almost identical with that of Fabyan, showing clearly that the one chronicle must have been derived from the other, or both from a common source. But in various portions of the reign of Henry VII., and especially the latter part, it contains much more ample and minute information, which is frequently of considerable value.

I have now only to tender my best thanks to all who have in any way assisted me in this work. A special acknowledgment is due to the courtesy of Sir Charles Young, Garter king of arms, and the other gentlemen of the Herald's College, not only for permission to transcribe Machado's Journals, but for granting me access to the valuable MS. collections of Anstis, from which are chiefly derived the particulars I have given of his life. I have also been frequently indebted to the advice of the Reverend J. S. Brewer, Professor of English Literature in King's College, London, and to various other friends.

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[1] MS. Cott., Vitellius, A. XVI.

BERNARDI ANDREÆ THOLOSATIS,

POETÆ LAUREATI, REGII HISTORIOGRAPHI,

DE VITA ATQUE GESTIS

HENRICI SEPTIMI,

ANGLIÆ AC FRANCIÆ REGUM POTENTISSIMI SAPIENTISSIMIQUE,

HISTORIA.

BERNARDI ANDREÆ THOLOSATIS DEDICATIO.

REGIÆ CELSITUDINI.

CATO ille Senior, invictissime regum, non minus otii quam negotii rationem, tam claris quam pusillis ingeniis habendam esse, in primordio suarum scripsit Originum. Quod [quidem [1]] dictum quum multis placuisse videam doctis viris, tum præcipue Cicero noster amplectitur; magnificum sibi semper ac præclarum visum esse in ea qua Plancum defendit oratione testatur. Id mihi quoque, si vel pro ingenii mediocritate, vel pro non mediocri gloriæ cupiditate, (si tamen hanc nondum fræno animi ac ratione perdomui) providendum est. Quid primum præstare nitar nisi ut, sicut ego a negotiis, sic ab otio modo procul absit inertia? Et si quid forte mansurum scripsero, his potissimum inscribam, quorum gloriæ quadam velut participatione clarescere tenebrisque resistere valeam, quas mihi temporum fusca profunditas et nominum consumptrix illustrium obliviosa posteritas intentat. Quod versanti animo sæpe equidem tuum sacratissimum nomen occurrit, et usque adeo fulgidum in se atque ita de me meritum ut seu præclara seu mihi

Dedication.

[1] This word is written in the margin in a contemporary hand, and appears intended to be inserted here.

cara complectar, præteriri sine gravi quodam non possit injustitia. Accedit quod ex mea erga tuam serenitatem peculiari servilique observantia, ut frugum cæteri, sic ego tibi decimas otii debere videor, primitiasque vigiliarum. Itaque tibi quotannis, plus minusve, pro ingenii ubertate vel sterilitate annua persolvere est animus; quo, velut unus e colonis tuis, his saltem fructibus quos agellus meus fert agnoscere intelligar bonam fidem. Quid vero nunc prius ex me potissimum speres, quam, quod et in ore et in corde semper habui, et ipse qui modo sub oculis est locus hortatur solitarius, Regis Henrici Septimi præconium, quod cum sæpe olim solus, tum maxime hoc tempore mecum, ne mihi torpentem sopiret inertia sensum, describere ausus sum; rem profecto meis viribus imparem. Sed præludio quodam, ut Papinius in Achille, quid possim experiar, nunquam antea tam excellens tamque magnificum opus aggressus. Tuæ igitur excellentissimæ majestati, hac epistolari præfatione, prægustationem quamdam studiorum meorum suppliciter offero; hoc unum obsecrans ut, quicquid præter rerum aut temporum ordinem in ipsa tua regia vita apposui, non mihi succenseat tua Jovialis humanitas. Nam dum hæc dictarem neminem præter meipsum consultorem invenire potui. Quare, ut cæcus in tenebris ambulans, audaciæ potius quam negligentiæ abs te accusatum iri potevolui. Sed cum styli mei ruditatem qualitatemque deprehenderis, ac mihi posthac scribendi materiam præstari edixeris, si non egregie, at vere, fideliterque, quantulacumque possum, industria mea idipsum luculenter scribere tentabo, annuente Domino Jesu Christo, qui regia semper tua vota secundet.

BERNARDI ANDREÆ THOLOSATIS

IN VITAM

HENRICI SEPTIMI

PRÆFATIO.

HENRICI SEPTIMI, Angliæ ac Franciæ Regum faus- Preface.
tissimi victoriosissimique vitam ac gesta perquam veridice scripturo, mihi imprimis operæ pretium videtur ob propositam rerum gestarum magnitudinem, ut Plutarchus Græcus historiographus in Regis Alexandri Cæsarisque vita inquit, "nihil aliud quam excusationem lectoribus præfari; ut si, amputatis plurimis, haud unamquamque rerum famosissimarum in numerum explicamus, ne nos carpant, quum non tam historiam quam vitam perscribere in animo sit. Præterea non usquequaque clarissima gesta virtutem flagitiaque declarant; verum exigua per se res, ac verbum locusque[1] quispiam mores magis aperit quam hostes infiniti prælio cæsi, ingentes acies et expugnata oppida. Quemadmodum igitur pictores, neglectis cæteris

[1] Sic, pro *jocusque*.

partibus, ex facie a vultus forma, unde morum indicium extat, similitudines capiunt, sic et nobis indulgendum est ut animorum signa ineamus, per ea tanti Regis vitam significantes, ejus amplitudinem ac res bellicas aliis relinquentes." Adde quod Macedoniæ[1] ille fulgor magnus Alexander Cherilo sua gesta scribere cupienti respondisse fertur, "Malo Homeri Thersites esse quam Cherili Achilles," merito in me idem retorqueri poterit, quamvis Homerum quoque oculis captum fuisse Valerius idoneus testis est. Redeo ad Alexandrum qui, ut idem Plutarchus narrat, edictum fecit ne quis se præter Apellem pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret æra; alter enim pictor, alter statuarius fuit egregius. Quid Hector ille fortissimus apud Nævium? Numquid parente suo Priamo Asiæ Regnatore potentissimo sese laudari maxime gloriatur? Talibus itaque ac tantis eximiis laudatoribus etsi homuncio ipse minime conferendus eram, fide tamen inconcussa huic prudentissimo regi, compertissima simul affectione, beneficentia ac debita observantia in ipsum punctus, stimulatus, et, ut verius dicam, admirabilium virtutum suarum splendore[2] accensus et inflammatus, propositi mei rationem, opus, videlicet, tametsi viribus meis impar, audentius quam tanta res expostularet aggrediendum mihi in animum induxeram. Post igitur impetratam studiis meis quietem, quam per quatuor annos Arturo Walliæ principi nobilissimo literatissimoque et prædicti regis primogenito erudiendo impenderam, de vita atque gestis præfati jam principis genitoris excellentissimi scribere sum exorsus, anno videlicet

The author's reasons for writing.

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[1] *Maceduni* in MS.

[2] *spendore* in MS.

His work commenced A.D. 1500.

gratiæ quingentesimo supra mille, Beatissimi Papæ Alexandri Sexti pontificatus anno decimo, et antememorati regis regni anno sextodecimo. Quocirca excusandæ, ut prædixi, imbecilitatis meæ gratia, lectores suppliciter oratos velim, ut si quid minus eruditum aut perperam positum (quod quidem factu facillimum est) in hac regia vita deprehenderint, ne id justitiæ meæ, sed historiæ sublimitati ascribant, meminerintque Hieronimianum illud, grandes materias ingenia parva non perferunt, et in ipso conatu rerum supra vires ausa succumbunt. Verum, ut inquit beatus Augustinus, "Magnum opus et arduum, sed Deus noster adjutor est." Quapropter, ne præfationis modum excedam, id quod Sallustius, ut ipsi placet Augustino, historiæ veritate princeps clarissimus, de se vere prædicat, mihi quoque haud abs re hoc in loco usurpandum censui: "At mihi quidem, tametsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem et auctorem, tamen imprimis arduum videtur res gestas scribere; primum quia facta dictis exæquanda sunt; dehinc quia plerique delicta quæ reprehenderis malevolentia et invidia dicta putant; ubi de magna virtute atque gloria bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat æquo animo accipit; supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit."[1] Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis requievit, et reliquam ætatem a curia procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere, sed a quo incepto studio me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas Regis Henrici Septimi carptim, ut quæque memoriæ[2] mihi

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[1] Sallust, Bell. Cat., lii.

[2] *memoria*, MS.

occurrentia, absque ullo instructore, digna mihi videbantur, perscribere; eo magis quod mihi animus liberrimus tunc erat. Quapropter de vita atque gestis ipsius quam verissime potero paucis absolvam. De cujus regali utriusque parentis origine pauca prius explananda sunt: a quibus jamjam Christo duce initium dicendi faciam.

BERNARDI ANDREÆ THOLOSATIS

DE VITA ATQUE GESTIS

HENRICI SEPTIMI HISTORIA.

De Regali utriusque parentis ipsius origine.

Regiam utriusque parentis prosapiam longe nobilissimam ducens a Bruto cunctisque ab illo retroactis principibus ex parte patris, cui Edmundo Richemondiæ comiti nomen fuit. Ex parte vero matris a Katherina Franciæ, Castellæ, Lusitaniæ, Scotiæque regibus et plurimis Alemanniæ imperatoribus descensus ejusdem nobilitatis præcellenti stemmate illustrissimus est; usque adeo omnes et superioris et suæ ætatis Christianos principes antiquitate et excellentia nobilitatis excellit. Atque, ut sui genitoris ab antiquis Britannis regibus descensum breviter attingam, Sancti Cadvaladri, cui post longa temporum intervalla idem Henricus legitime successit, et Cadvalonis præfati Cadvaladri genitoris, si pauca de multis illorum præclarissimis gestis attigero, priores Britonum reges, ne historiæ modum excedam, a quibus idem rex originem duxit, præsens in tempus omittam. Interim quod ad Cadvaladrum sanctum attinet, imprimis illud memoria dignum occurrit quod postquam Cadvaladri[1] pater, Cadvalo filius Caduani, Eduynum regem Northumbrorum filium regis Ethel-

A.D. 1457. Royal descent of Henry VII.

by the father's side,

[1] *Cadvaladrum* in MS.

A.D. 1457–71. fridi interfecit, ejus quoque jussu Penda rex Merciorum Sanctum Odvaldum peremit, idem Cadvalo omnes reges Angliæ subjugavit, cunctosque sibi tributarios fecit, regnavitque annis quadraginta septem; cujus corpus ad terrorem Saxonum in imagine ænea super equum æneum ad occiduam Londoniæ portam collocatum est, inscriptique sunt et insculpti hi duo versus:

" Rex jacet in muro Cadvalo Londoniensi,
Angligenas duro qui funere subdidit ensi."

Hujus Cadvalonis, ut ante dixi, filius Cadvaladrus erat, successitque patri in regno Britanniæ, quam nunc Angliam vocamus. Hujus autem tempore fames et mortalitas dira Britannum populum invaserunt; adeo quod vivi qui superaverant suos sepelire mortuos præ multitudine minime poterant. Rex vero cum multis Britonibus Dei jussu mortem fugiens Alanum Britanniæ Minoris Regem adiit; ubi tandem, divina admonitione consultus, sæculo renuncians Romam profectus est, et a Sergio Papa in sancto proposito confirmatus, parvo post tempore vita functus est, sanctusque vitæ suæ probitate ac miraculis longe lateque coruscantibus ab eodem beato pontifice ac toto venerabilium Cardinalium Collegio canonice declaratus. Tempore jam ex illo usque ad Henrici Septimi illius legitimi successoris in Angliam adventum Britonum regnum Anglorum sævitia intercalatum est, et Angli regnare cœperunt. Post itaque prædicti Cadvaladri obitum usque ad Henricum Septimum Britonum regno intermisso, Britones vocabulum amiserunt, et Wallenses ab eorum duce Wallone sunt cognominati; quibus Arturus secundus, antenominati regis primogenitus princeps, cum hæc scriberem dominabatur. Angli autem, ut dixi, qui tunc remanserant et peste superfuerant, incolis de Germania ad se vocatis, insulam inter se dividentes dominium ac regnum Britonum postea repulerunt, Angliamque ab Angularibus Saxoniæ populis denominaverunt. Hanc jure

divino atque humano post tam longa tempora, post tot bella, clades, et interneciones ab Richardo tertio, qui Edwardi Quarti germani sui binos filios, Eduardum scilicet principem, et Richardum ducem Eboraci crudeliter interemit, divina vindicante, volente, juvanteque potentia, tamquam ab hoste truculentissimo liberans, tyrannidem illius, parva manu morte subacto trucidatoque pro meritis Richardo, ab insula profligavit; et regnare cœpit post illius necem toti regno commodissimam, anno videlicet millesimo quadringentesimo octogesimo quinto. Et de ipsius clarissimi genitoris sui nobilissima genesi hactenus. Nunc illustrissimæ parentis dominæ, dominæ Margaretæ ex præclarissimo genere quam brevissime potero paucis explicabo.

A.D. 1457–71.

1485.

Quomodo igitur rex in consanguinitatis gradu existat materno genere cum Francia, Navarra, ducibus Aurelianis, Borboniis, domo Andegaviæ, imperatoribus Lusitaniæ et Burgundiæ, et item cum regina Castellæ, rege Scotiæ, ac Duodecim Paribus[1] Franciæ et majoribus Britanniæ, necnon cum statibus et maximis dominis regni sui sacratissimæ suæ majestati subditis, enarrare perlongum esset. Sed quia de hac genealogia libelli hoc in regno plurimi extant novissime ad examen veritatis absolutissimeque ab regni peritissimis compositi, a Katherina Henrici Quinti conjuge et filia Franciæ, postea Eduyno præfati regis avo paterno antememorato,[2] ab regibus Britannis successore, legitimo matrimonio copulata initium faciam. Regiæ itaque dominæ matris Margaretæ feminæ nobilissimæ, tum vitæ integritate, tum sanctimonia cœlitus dotatæ, descensum paucis expediam. Et ne interea dominæ matris descensus memoria excidat, Joannes dux Lancastriæ, Philippus rex Lusitaniæ, Alienor Im-

and by the mother's.

[1] *patribus*, MS.

[2] There are two errors here. Henry VII's grandfather was named Owen, not Edwin, and is not previously mentioned in this work.

A.D. 1457–71. peratrix, Elizabeth duxissa Burgundiæ, Karolus ejus maritus, Maria Burgundiæ duxissa Austriæ uxor Maximiliani, Eduardus rex Lusitaniæ, Maximilianus Romanorum rex et imperator, Joannes comes Sumbreset, Joannes dux de Somberset pater Margaretæ comitissæ Richemondiæ et regiæ matris. Ex qua Henricus Septimus rex Angliæ ac Franciæ, de quo nunc sermo noster est, ipsius regis egregium genus nobilitatum illustravit. Et de ipsius clarissima genealogia hæc hactenus.

De loco et tempore nativitatis Henrici Septimi.

His birth, Natus est Henricus Rex Septimus [Calixto Tertio[1]] Romano pontifice et Henrico Sexto regnante in hoc regno summa cum virtutis et probitatis gratia, usque adeo ut in hodiernum usque diem beatus ille rex ob multa quæ indies ejus meritis Deus ostendit miracula ab omnibus longe lateque prædicetur: mense vero Januarii, et Februarii kalend. decimoseptimo, die quidem Sanctæ Agnetis Secundæ faustissima,[2] hora vero
* * * * * [1]

De loco ubi natus est.

Locus autem cui torrentis caput vernacule Pembrouc nomen est. Castrum siquidem in meridionali Walliæ plaga ad mare vergens munitissimum ipsius natalem diem faustum et felicem propter situs naturam fuisse clarissime demonstrat.

De loco ubi nutritus fuit.

and early education. Educationis locus illi pro aëris et corporis salubritate ut infantibus assolet esse principibus, varius in

[1] Blank in MS.

[2] There is a discrepancy here. The 17th calends of February should correspond to the 16th of January, but the day of St. Agnes the Second was the 28th of that month.

Wallia ac multiplex fuit, usque adeo anni temporibus variis pro tuenda valetudine ita exigentibus. Et quia in tenella ætate sæpe valetudinarius fuit, tenere a suis nutritoribus educabatur, viris alioquin probis atque prudentibus. A.D. 1457–71.

* * * * * * [1]

Post ubi jam sapere cœpisset optimis probatissimisque præceptoribus primis litterarum elementis erudiendus traditur; qui tanta ingenii acrimonia tantoque vivacitatis et capacitatis dono præditus erat, ut omnia quæ ad cultum divinum pertinerent, brevi et inopinato omnium cogitatu, parvulus adhuc sine magno docentium labore didicerit. Quo quidem tempore in puero summa virtutis indoles prælucebat, quandoquidem divinum adeo attentus et legebat et audiebat officium, ut videntibus cunctis futuræ probitatis ac felicitatis præsagium indicaretur. Postquam vero ephebus literariæ disciplinæ primordiis initiaretur, eadem qua in primis characteribus, intellectus velocitate coævos omnes anteibat. Itaque memini equidem literatissimum et optimum præceptorem suum magistrum Andream Scotum (cujus anima quiescat cum beatis) tunc Oxonii sacras litteras profitentem, mihi dicere solitum, nunquam tantæ celeritatis illa ætate capacem doctrinæ puerum se audivisse. Morum præterea nobilium tantus decor, tanta vultus regii venustas et gratia, tanta pulchritudo ei inerat, ut felicissime, in quo nunc victoriosissimus triumphator ut pacificus Salomon statum omnibus illius ætatis mortalibus luce clara protenderet.

De repentino ipsius hinc abitu.

Regnante igitur felicissimæ recordationis Henrico ut prædixi Sexto, malignus regni sui tranquillitati

[1] Blank in MS.

A.D. 1457–71.

summa fides et taciturnitas habebatur, hos primitus defecisse. Profecto, nisi mea me fallit opinio maternusve animus, quo pericula cuncta devitemus, mare tantum nobis auxiliabitur. Nec clam est ponti discrimina permagna fore: sed in hac tempestate, oceani quam terræ fluctibus vita magis tutabitur; quod si aliter eveniat, cœlo tegitur qui non habet urnam; mallem, quod Deus avertat, quam tyranni cruentis illum interimi gladiis. Dixi hactenus quæ mihi videbantur: vos, frater optime, si qua melius videritis precor animadvertite."

Domini Comitis de Pembrouc Responsio.

The earl of Pembroke approves.

"Sapienter profecto, prudentissima domina soror mea carissima, in hoc calamitoso tempore quænam sequenda quæque fugienda videantur prudentia vestra prævidit: quæ sane tam circumspecte tamque sagaciter omnia prospexit, ut mihi alius dicendi locus non sit derelictus. Quare, ut paucis expediam, trajectio mihi imprimis necessaria videtur. Hanc igitur libens pro amore erga vos meo provinciam aggrediar, curaboque in filium vestrum nepotem meum tantam diligentiam adhibere ut si meus esset filius non majorem præstare possem."

His ultro citroque protractis * * *[1] accersuntur viri siquidem integra fide et præstanti[2] sapientia præditi, qui hujusmodi grande negotium dirigentes puerum comitem Richemundiæ accuratius observent. Convenere autem quibus aut odium crudele tyranni aut metus acer erat. Tempus itaque, locus,

[1] Blank in MS. | [2] *præstantia* in MS.

navesque providentur, sicque paucis admodum consciis navigatio præsto et parata fuit. A.D. 1457-71.

* * * * * *[1]

Bonis autem avibus et Junone secunda pelago se committunt, Galliam consulto petituri; verum furentibus austris in Britanniam Minorem tandem ejecti sunt. Henry lands in Britanny.

Dux Britanniæ Franciscus,[2] princeps ætate illa optimus benignissimusque, summo cum gaudio illum excepit, Deo Optimo Maximo gratulabundus; quippe qui sciret (sic enim ab aliis acceperat) illum quandoque in Anglia[3] regnaturum. Hunc, igitur, omnibus humanitatis, comitatis, beneficentiæ ac liberalitatis officiis prosequens tanti facere cœpit, ut nihil ad cumulum addi posset; suisque comitibus placido sic retulit ore:

Francisci Britanniæ Ducis Oratio.

"Vix dici potest, clarissimi viri, quanta nunc animi jocunditate perfundar. Audieram enim antea satis, jam satis, illustrium virorum vestratium proscriptiones, et aufugia acceperam, factiones adverteram, diutinas inter vos dissensiones, rixas, æmulationes, clades, eversiones: quo fit ut mediusfidius minime mirer si hic adolescentulus princeps profligatus huc appulerit; et *sibi*[4] plurimum gratulor quia per terræ marisque discrimina sospes et salvus emerserit. Et revera quum ipsius vultum faciemque corporis intueor magis magisque *ad se* amandum accendor. Video enim naturæ bonitatem præ se ferre, contemplor ingenuam indolem, admiror in tam parva ætate gravitatem, The duke of Britanny's speech.

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[1] Blank in MS.

[2] Francis II.

[3] *Angliam*, MS.

[4] The inaccurate use of this word is noted in the MS. by the words "Infelix *sibi*" written at the top of the page in a contemporary hand. The words "ad se" in the new sentence are underlined.

A.D. 1457-71.

compositos mores, mansuetudinem, humilitatem, atque innatam et divinitus inditam probitatem. Quibus hercule argumentis facile ad credendum inducor ipsum aliquando ad summa reipublicæ gubernacula perventurum. Quare agite, ô proceres, et nostris succedite tectis. Polliceor enim vobis et bona fide promitto illum ac vos perinde ac ipsius meos familiares ac domesticos pari me benevolentia prosecuturum." Hæc ubi dixit, illum manu gratiose apprehendens, in regiam suam cum magna hilaritate perduxit, jussitque deinceps sibi ac suis omnibus ita necessaria ministrari ac reliquis sibi intimis ac consanguinitate propinquis optimatibus.

De Comite Marchiæ Eduardo.

The Wars of the Roses.

Interea magnis gravissimisque dissensionibus atque procellis flagrare cœpit ipsa Anglia. Et comes Marchiæ Eduardus ducis Ebourachi filius, nescio qua stimulatus accensusque Furia, ad regni tyrannidem aspiravit, regemque illum optimum Henricum Sextum primo clandestinis, post apertis prosecutus est odiis. Sed Deus omnium speculator et æquissimus judex non passus est sanctum virum insidias latere. Quare perspecta illius suorumque malignitate ac perfidia, non se illis credebat amplius. Sed quo magis tegitur magis æstuat ignis, et pallida Tisiphone[1] faces accendit mortiferas, quibus illos ad violandum fidem ac jusjurandum excitat. Jam omnia armis regni loca resonant, bella undiquaque cientur, et in sanctum regem parantur exitia. Mirum dictu est quid sit occulti potentia fati; quo alii ad bona, alii ad mala feruntur

[1] Note in MS. "Ultrix cædis; est enim una ex Furiis."

A.D. 1457–71

præcipites. Unde non injuria tragicus[1] exclamat, "Fata nolentem trahunt, volentem ducunt." Hoc ideo dixerim quia Richardus, comitis præfati Marchiorum frater, Glaucestriæ dux, si vera est fama, ad regem innocentissimum trucidandum decernitur; huic namque ab unguiculis sanguinolenta placuere facinora.

Sed priusquam ad altiora conscendam, digressione hoc in loco utendum mihi peropus est, qua prius detestabilem illorum mutuo conflictationem ac furibundam concertationem inter se aperiam. Qua in parte lectores rogatos velim ut me excusatum habeant, si illorum temporum procellas per gestorum seriem non exequar. Nam illis ego temporibus non aderam, neque antea quicquam de his auribus acceperam. Præterea, ut in præfatione dixi, non tam historiam quam vitam enarro, atque utinam ad illam expoliendam suis laudibus atque præconiis idoneus essem. Certe dum hæc scriberem relatorem sive recensorem quempiam non habebam, qui mihi, ut principio optaveram, dicendorum materiam mihi proponeret. Quare ut cæcus in tenebris ambulans sine ductore, nihil præter auditum habeo. Ad hæc accedit hebes tantarum rerum et obtusa malis mens atque memoria. Quas ob res si parum ordinate singula carptimque non[2] attigero, ignoscant mihi precor humillime qui nostra legent. Nam præludia sunt hæc, et quasi prægustamenta, et ad fallendum tempus et otium a me solo præmeditata. Audacibus itaque cœptis, quæ restant cursim hincinde, ut apes solent per varios incidere flores, prosequamur.

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[1] In margin *Seneca*. | [2] Sic in MS.

A.D. 1471.

De Intestinis Bellis.

Fate of King Henry VI.

Hæc ego, ut prædixi, bella intestina quo potissimum ordine exequar diversus agor. Sed ut quæque phantasiæ et memoriæ sese offerunt discriminatim sine ordine, a nobis referuntur. Fuit illis diebus comes Warwici, vir populo carissimus belloque potentissimus, qui pro Henrico Rege tunc strenue militans in campo interemptus est * * * * *[1] Quo, ut aiunt, rex ipse Henricus ab illo qui coronam jam usurpaverat, post partam victoriam adducitur. Quo bello illustres duo germani, comes videlicet præfatus, et marchio Montis Acuti, fortiter pugnando ceciderunt. Rex ipse postea rebus compositis, Eduardus, inquam, ille comes Marchiæ a nobis supra cognominatus, jam regio fulgens honore, quid cum Henrico Sexto Rege beato faceret meditabatur. Post vero multa versanti tandem optimum factu visum est ut illum morti traderet. Non possum hoc in loco me lacrymis abstinere, dum mecum in sanctum virum truculentiam, immanitatem, crudelitatem, secreta mente revolvo; quare paululum ab incepto divertens non sine magno doloris testimonio exclamare libet.

Auctoris lacrymosa exclamatio.

Omnipotens æterne Deus qui cuncta creasti ex nihilo; qui mundum hunc perpetua ratione gubernans, per totum orbem regna partitus[2] es; in quibus modo illum humilias, modo istum exaltas. Exaltas, inquam, humiles, tollis de pulvere viles; quænam tibi ab æterno hujus regni Anglorum causa te movit ut

[1] Blank in MS.

[2] *pertitus* in MS.

illos tanta perturbationum vicissitudine impune gaudere permittas? Bone Deus, etsi ab mundi exordio omnia prævidisti præscivistique, tamen quibusdam longam criminum suorum impunitatem protrahens, alios in stuporem adducis; qui cum sceleratissimum quemque videant improbitati suæ votum habere mirantur, sane maxime a te mortalia vix curari[1] suspicantur. Nam boni et innoxii plectuntur, mali præsumunt. Rex iste tuis semper mandatis obedivit justus, pius, innocens; et permittis tamen sceptrum regni a manibus suis violenter abstrahi, et ab illo qui ambitione mala nullo jure nititur usurpari. Sed longius quam institutum nostrum exigat ingenti perculsus amore pervagatus sum ad Te; non sine ratione, siquidem tam boni principis tam Deo grati me crudelis turbat exitus. Verumtamen Tibi, ô regnorum regumque Ordinator et Rector, ita Tibi complacitum est ut per multas hujus vitæ anxietates ad Te denique perveniamus. Sic et in isto rege sancto factum esse nunc demum compertum est, qui regali solio perperam depositus, cœlesti diademate cum supernis regibus coronatur. Illi autem, qui illum cruciavere, pœnas suis meritis condignas luunt. Sed ad ipsum regem optimum revertamur. A.D. 1471.

De crudeli Sancti Regis morte.

His afflictions and piety.

Cum per multa retro tempora rex jure suo spoliatus in carcere detentus esset, lugeretque tum consortis suæ clarissimæ Margaretæ reginæ exilium, tum strenuissimi filii sui principis mortem intempestam (is enim paulo ante Bernardi campum[2] in Theoxberye

[1] *curare*, MS.

[2] The word *ante* should have been *post*. The battle of Tewkesbury was fought twenty days after that of Barnet.

A.D. 1471. prælio belligerens ceciderat), diuturnis nihilominus ad Deum precibus quotidie laborabat ut Deus illum a tantis absolutum malis, ne extremam regni ruinam cerneret, divino se nutu liberaret. Atque, ut paucis quæ tunc idem rex bonus orabat expediam, orationis ipsius effectum hic inserui.

Divi Henrici Oratio.

His prayer. "Si pro tot tantisque malis, dulcissime Jesu, perinde ac pro bonis, tibi gratias non agam, sum plane ingratus. Quantas etenim mihi in hoc vitæ cursu fortunas tum bonas tum malas dederis non clam te est. Bonas autem pariter et malas de manu tua libenter suscepi, qui solem tuum facis oriri supra bonos et malos et pluis super justos et injustos. Prosperitates quas mihi contulisti non jactantia, sed pro gratiarum actione repeto. Parentem utrumque mihi dedisti regum progenie nobilissima antiquissimaque procreatum. Genitoris autem mei in Gallia innumera pene gesta referre locus iste fortassis expostularet. Verum ad alia properat oratio. Unum illud de me ad Dei gloriam recusebo.

"Pariseorum urbe florentissima coronatus sum, postea pudicissima conjuge donatus Margareta Regnati Siciliæ regis filia sapientissima, ex eaque filio Eduardo principe suscepto, et regno tot annos pacifice gubernato, gratulandum mihi profecto melius est quam dolendum Et licet nunc malis omnibus obruar, si patienter illa perpetior, ad meritum omnia redundabunt. Quicquid igitur sinistri Deus in me contulerit patiar, nec longa patientia his qui multa commisere flagitia[1]: nec facit malam mortem nisi quod sequitur mortem; mors

[1] *nec longa . . . flagitia*] underlined in MS.

enim mala putanda non est quam bona vita præcesserit." Hæc et hujusmodi permulta Rex ille constanter prædicabat custodibus suis * * A.D. 1471.

* * * * * *[1]

His itaque gestis, ecce humani sanguinis sititor ille Richardus Glaucestriæ dux a fratre suo Eduardo Quarto missus ad ipsum Henricum trucidandum accessit, illumque * * * *

* * * * * *[1]

Quanta hujus truculentam necem postea secuta sunt mala totus pene mundus testatur. Calamitates siquidem ad cumulum innumerabiles post illa consecutæ sunt. Nam et Eduardus ille Quartus rex alioquin potentissimus magnificentissimusque post mortem suam in liberis suis, quos prædicto Richardo fratri suo commiserat protegendos mulctatus est; qui dum viveret et successorem hunc Regem nostrum Henricum Septimum fore sæpius formidaret. Propheticis quorumdam testimoniis exterritus, apud Franciscum Britanniæ ducem pretio precibusque sæpe contendit magnis pollicitationibus ut Richemundiæ comitem in patriam revocaret. Sed mater illius, mulier prudentissima, dolum prospiciens, secretis nuntiorum ac litterarum alloquiis ne rediret assidue prohibebat. Postremo Eduardus, irritis cunctis laboribus, illum furtim habere tentavit. Verum nec prævaluit umquam in Deum mortalis astutia; quare posthæc adversa valetudine correptus obiit.[2] Calamities which ensued on his death.

Richardus, ergo, protector a rege vocatus et declaratus, primum filios fratris ex Wallia accersiri jussit, dissimulans quam animo tyrannidem jam conceperat. Sed regina Elizabeth Eduardi Regis conjunx prudentissima, sibi suisque prospiciens loca immunitate A.D. 1483. Tyranny of Richard III.

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[1] Blank in MS.

[2] Space is left after these words, apparently for the title of a new chapter which has not been supplied.

A.D.1483. privilegii sacra incolebat. Quid multa? Tyrannus in arce Londinia, post interemptos quos noverat fratri suo fideles dominos, nepotes quoque clam ferro incautos feriri jussit; sicque mors morte, exitium exitio pensatum est. Tunc regionem totam singultibus doloribusque misceri cerneres; tunc regni proceres vitæ suæ timentes, alter in alterius periculum cogitabat quid facerent: ore fideles, corde vero procul a tyranno, gemitus compescebant. Quid plura? Coronam interea ille usurpans ad regni solium sublimatus est. Interim ad Richemundiæ comitem nova per matris nuntios de peractis in Anglia mittebantur. Ille prudenti fretus consilio cum Britanniæ duce Francisco quid rerum exequatur consilium capit. Ille si comitem cum Richardi gratia remitteret rem suam perficere ratus, de captanda Richardi regis benevolentia cogitat. Verum enimvero cum hujusmodi cogitatum Richemundiæ comes unacum suis familiaribus intellexisset, declinandi a via clamculo consilium fuit. Rebus itaque undecumque dispositis, venatum comes ire dissimulans, paratis hincinde suis tutoribus, in Franciam clam proficiscitur. Interea Richardo ab Henrico duce Bouquingameæ in Wallia insidiæ parabantur: quarum rumore ad se delato comes in Angliam redire semel instituerat. Sed marchio Dorsset Eduardi Quarti privignus, qui paulo ante ad Richemundiæ comitem in Britanniam Minorem profugerat, illum ab instituto dehortabatur. Qui tamen postea Richardo solicitatus, Richemundiæ comitem Parisiis derelinquens, in Angliam aufugere clam decreverat nisi Richemundiæ comitis prudentia obstitisset. Missi sunt igitur * * * *[1] qui illum capientes reduxerunt. Publica demum custodia diu Parisiis mancipatum, comes ubi regno potitus est pietate ductus in Angliam revocavit, illumque solita

Henry's escape from Britanny.

A.D. 1485.

[1] Blank in MS.

(injuriarum immemor) benevolentia complexus est. Sed ad rem ipsam redeo. Richemundiæ comes ubi Karolo Franciæ Regi Septimo,[1] ejusque sapientissimo consilio, rem omnem a principio exposuit, rex, divino velut oraculo admonitus, egregium etiam decorumque principis vultum, innatam prudentiam et suavem facundiam Gallici sermonis admiratus, non potuit non vehementer ipsius gaudere adventu. Ad hæc accessit omnium regis procerum incredibilis in eundem affectio; inaudita vero præcipue sapientissimæ humanissimæque dominæ duxissæ Bourbonniæ regiæ sororis benevolentia. Quibus omnibus factum est ut senatusconsulto prædicto comiti suppetias ire decerneretur. Paratur illico exercitus, pedestres equestresque copiæ conscribuntur. Hujus autem expeditionis cui summa rerum imprimis commissa erat, ductor fuit strenuus et sapiens miles dominus de Chandea.[2]

A.D. 1485.

His application to Charles VIII. of France,

who gives him assistance.

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Paratis itaque navibus felici comes sidere, priusquam navim ascenderet, sicut princeps Catholicus, talibus ad Deum, genibus ad terram positis, humiliter usus est:

Richemundiæ Comitis ante trajectionem Oratio.

"Hæc est illa dies, misericordissime Deus, in qua tuo jussu navem conscendere in animo est; verum, ut Tu mihi optimus testis es, non cupiditate, non ambitione, non denique humani sanguinis siti, istud iter aggredior. Sed Angliæ regnique populorum longam miseratus calamitosam captivitatem illuc accedo. Novisti, optime

His prayer before embarking,

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[1] An error for *Octavo*.

[2] Philibert de Shaundé', afterwards earl of Bath. See *Dugd. Baronage*.

[3] Two lines blank in MS.

A.D. 1485. Deus, in sanguinem meum a truculentis hominibus satis fuisse debacchatum, usque adeo quod nihil ferme reliquiarum generis mei relictum est quin totum ferro ac proscriptionibus perdiderint. Tantum restat mihi carissima genitrix mea, quæ propter me magnos, et eos quidem diuturnos, dolores patitur. Dabis, igitur, justissime Judex (si mereor ad quod venio) potentiam quod si jus mihi regni non debetur, Te precor humillime ut in melius consulas dirigasque nos ex hoc die, quatenus a voluntate tua non discedamus. Vos autem, strenui commilitones mei, qui tantis temporum intervallis ab uxoribus, liberis, patria, parentibus exulastis, si Deo ita visum est ut ad jura nostra hoc tempore revertamur, resumite animorum vires, et mecum in Angliam puris integrisque cordibus assistite. Videtis tyrannum omnia cruoribus replevisse, ducemque Boquingamiæ sibi olim carissimum trucidasse, plerosque etiam insontes, regni heroas, propriosque nepotes interfecisse. Nos autem, qui Dei nutu relinquimur, sitibundus sanguinis pari modo perdere discupit, fecissetque antea si Deus ab itinere quod nuper ingressi fueramus non retraxisset. Nunc vero tempus nostrum advenit, quo Deus Judex justus illius scelera manibus nostris puniet. Estote igitur fortes hoc in bello, et Deum ante oculos semper habete. Et quidem molestissime fero quod præter naturæ meæ conditionem crudelia bella tentare compellimur. Sed præstabilius est Deo jubenti parere quam reliquum vitæ nostræ tempus inter alienas gentes degere. Et quamquam parva manu viam ingredimur ac populosam regionem bello potentem pauci accedimus, in Deo si spes nostras firmiter statuerimus non dubium est quin pauci multos vincere possimus. Dum Moyses rectas in cœlum habebat manus vincebatur Amalech ; si vero paululum illi conciderent invalescebat. Referre longum esset quot duces, quot reges, quot imperatores, parvis sociati copiis ingentes exercitus superarunt. Præterea Xerxem, Darium, Cræsum et

and address to his soldiers.

alios quamplures, tam Lacedæmonios quam Thebanos, Athenienses, Carthaginienses, Romanosque principes exiguis copiis superatos. Non in multitudine bellantium sed in Dei manu consistit victoria. Verum tempus hoc pluribus verbis non indiget. Cerno enim vos ad rem gerendam vestrapte virtute satis accensos; quare, si unum dixero, finem dicendi faciam. Vos quibus est Deo serviendi ministrandique officium, sacerdotes clericosque omnes Deo devotos, oratos vehementer velim, ut sine intermissione ad Deum preces effundatis, donec sua misericordia votorum compotes effecti, digna laboribus omnium præmia omnibus rependamus." A.D. 1485.

Hæc ubi dixit, omnes uno ore, omnes uno eodemque pectore ad clarissimum fidissimumque Oxonii comitem pro responsione facienda vota sua unanimiter contulerunt. Quorum desideriis comes ipse gratiose satis, ut omnia solet, humaniterque faciens, genu ad terram posito, talibus ad Richemundiæ comitem humiliter usus est:

Oxoniensis Comitis pro toto exercitu fidelis sane et benigna Responsio.

"Jampridem, sapientissime domine, illustri dominationi vestræ corda nostra satis excellentiæ vestræ cognita arbitramur. Sed quia pro sapienti prudentia vestra impræsentiarum nos admonuit, fecit hoc certe non minus sapienter quam necessario. Quis est enim tam magnanimus qui aliquando in rebus bellicis et in ipso agone non formidet? Audacia profecto quantacumque in animo est in bello patet. Interdum etiam pusillanimitas et vecordia vel fortium virorum pectora plerumque deterret. Quare vetustissimi instituti consuetudo sane laudabilis est, ut bellorum imperatores commilitones suos ad fortiter pugnandum admoneant, non quod de illorum fide dubitent, sed ut ad rem Reply of the earl of Oxford.

A.D. 1485. gerendam avidius excitentur. Sic ille diligentissimus ac victoriosissimus Julius Cæsar ante Pharsalicam expeditionem, sic Pompeius Magnus, sic Lucius Catilina, sic quicunque perlegitur optimus dux fecit. Hinc est, modestissime princeps, quod justos facit injuria ducis esse motus et causas invenit armis.

" 'Expulit hinc[1] Latia discordes urbe tribunos
Victo jure minax jactatis curia Gracchis.'

" Cernis autem, humanissime princeps, ut omnes nos pellimur ex patriis laribus, patimurque volentes exilium. Tua nos faciet victoria cunctos victores: nunc, maxime dum trepidant nullo firmatæ robore partes, dum tyrannus omnibus infestus est, dum vobis promissi fideles potentesque expectant. Dicam igitur, sed breviter cum Curione, 'Tolle moras; semper nocuit differre paratis. Par labor atque metus pretio majore petuntur.' Adde quod arma tenenti omnia dat qui justa negat: nec numina[2] desunt. Nam neque præda tuis neque tyrannis quæritur armis. Detrahere tantum a regione tyrannum animus est. Ignosce mihi precor, optime princeps, si hanc respondendi provinciam ante alios omnes susceperim. Nam postquam me primpilum primæque aciei ductorem ordinasti, ut Lælius ille Cæsari,[3] sic ego excellentiæ tuæ verbis illius respondere jubeor in hunc modum. Britanni ô vere successor et hæres imperii, veras exprimere voces ubi jubes, quod tam lenta tua tenuit patientia vires, conquerimur. Deeratne tibi fiducia nostri? Dum movet hic calidus spirantia corpora sanguis, et dum pila valent fortes torquere lacerti, degenerem patiere togam regnumque senatus? usque adeo miserum est civili vincere bello? Duc age per Scythiæ populos per inhospita

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[1] *hic*, MS. The lines are from Lucan's *Pharsalia*, lib. i. 266.; but the original has *ancipiti* instead of *hinc Latia*.

[2] *minima*, MS.; but this being also a quotation from Lucan, it is evident *numina* was the word intended.

[3] See Lucan, i. 359, sq.

Syrtis littora, per calidas Libyæ sitientis arenas. A.D. 1485.
Hæc manus ut victum post terga relinqueret orbem.[1]
Jussa sequi tam posse nobis quam velle necesse est.
Tu quoscunque voles in planum effundere muros, his[2]
aries actus disperget saxa lacertis. Illa licet tolli
penitus quam jusseris urbem Roma sit." His ita ab
illo animoso pectore palam expositis, cunctæ assensere
cohortes, elatasque alte quæcumque ad bella vocaret
promisere manus. It tantus ad æthera clamor,
quantus, piniferi Boreas cum Thracius Ossæ rupibus
incubuit, curvato robore pressæ fit sonus, aut rursus
redeuntis in æthera silvæ. Princeps ut videt tam ac-
ceptum pronis militibus bellum, fataque sibi respon-
dere, ne quo languore moretur fortunam se vocantem
in naves illico cunctos jussit introire; vocatisque apud
Deum Sanctis insulæ Britanniæ indigetibus ut pro se
exercituque suo interpellarent, aura secunda navigationi
prosperum iter aperuit. Solventes igitur felicibus
austris et numine dextro ancras, * * *
* * * [3]in Angliam appulerunt. The landing in England.

Illuc autem, ut pollicitum fuerat, * * *
* * * [3]imprimis convenere.

Communicatoque in teste[4] de rebus gerendis, loco et
tempore, cunctis etiam quæ a Richardo parata contra
fuerant intellectis, acies a magnanimo principe ex-
truitur, ejusque summa præfato Oxoniensi comiti com-
mendatur. Ille, armorum non ignarus, disciplinæ mili-
taris rationem habendam cum ipso principe cæterisque
proceribus suadet. Aderant, ut supra memoravi, cum
ipso principe jussu præfati Regis Karoli nobiles aliquot
et strenui milites, quorum præcipuus dominus de
Chandea vir militari doctrina præditus.

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[1] Lucan completes the sentence with the line
"Oceani tumidas remo compescuit undas:"
which did not apply in this case before embarkation.

[2] *Is* in MS. [3] Blank in MS. [4] *in teste*]. Sic in MS.

A.D. 1485. His atque aliis in acie constitutis ipse comes Oxonii ex portu Walliæ qui * * *[1] nuncupatur, viam primus intrepide aggreditur. Non prætermittenda hoc loco mihi videtur pia et tali principe digna quum primum illam e navi prospexit ad Angliam salutatio, et dum terram attigisset ad suos justissima exhortatio.

Richemundiæ Comitis ad Angliam salutatio, ad suosque secunda justaque exhortatio.

Henry's oration. "Salve, belli potens, pacisque magistra, ingeniis ornata sacris, dotataque cunctis fortunæ donis: excellis omnes quas maximus ambit Oceanus, nullique satis laudata virorum es. Ad te post longas lentus venio [moras],[2] quas pateris adhuc calamitates innumeras cœlesti numine admonitus. Non ferro, non igne, non præda, populare te volumus, sed a tyrannide liberare, antiquumque jus nostrum post beati Henrici Sexti trucidationem hactenus intermissum redhibere Deo juvante decrevimus. Tui autem cum gaudio revisendi spes mea longa fuit. Nunc autem ubi te cerno, licet afflictam, truculentoque tyranno misere servientem, mihi gaudeo, tibi gratulor, te amo, tua tuebor. Et quisquis vel meorum in te injurius fuerit, illum (Deum testor) tamquam atrocissimum hostem persequar, mulctabo, puniam. Quare vos omnes admonitos velim ne quid in plebem victus aut lucri gratia perperam committatis, neve a quoquam indigenarum aliquid rerum suarum sine prævia facta solutione accipiatis; sed si pecunia egeatis, ecce præsto sunt qui vobis recte persolvent. Vos autem itidem[3] in alios faciatis, nihil aut verbo aut facto quod vobismetipsis facere minime voletis[4]

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[1] Blank in MS.
[2] Not in MS.
[3] *ididem*, MS.
[4] *valetis*, MS.

perpetrantes. Si ita feceritis Deus erit nobis propitius, quippe alienis diu non gaudet illicitus usurpator." His ita pie humaniterque a principe dictis omnes concorditer assentiuntur, pollicentes bona fide suis ductoribus se ita facturos, quod si secus agerent se patienter animadversionem perpessuros. A.D. 1485.

De Rumore ad Richardum delato.

Dum hæc in castris jamdictis geruntur, ecce fama præpetibus[1] ad tyrannum pennis transvolans refert dubio procul Richemundiæ comitem in Wallia cum multis copiis descendisse, properareque ad bellum quominus[2] cum hoste gerendum; ad propria se rediisse jura tam paterno quam materno jure sibi debita, nec cunctari[3] velle diutius, sed cum ipso confligere; tempus advenisse vindictæ, lentoque gradu Deum ulcisci, tandem gravius in sceleratos animadvertere. Hæc et hujusmodi permulta audiens, tyrannus, ut coluber mala gramina pastus, in furorem ac rabiem inflammatur atque accenditur, non secus ac Hyrcana tigris aut Marsus aper ubi vulnera sentit. Itaque repentinum in clamorem erumpens furibundus ita suos alloquitur: Richard's exasperation.

Tyranni in suos furibunda oratio.

"Arma viri ferte; arma enim habemus in manibus quæ tantopere optabamus, quare viribus utendum est quas fecimus. Edico autem vobis, jubeo atque impero ut sine misericordia, sine pietate, sine gratia, omnes

[1] *perpetibus*, MS.
[2] Sic, perhaps for *quam citius*.
[3] *contari* in MS.

A.D. 1485. igne ferroque perdatis; Gallos autem et exteros quosque ad unum jugulate, enecate, ac cruci affigite. Ipsum vero Richemundiæ comitem sine ullo vel sanguinis vel nobilitatis respectu trucidate, aut vivum si potestis adducite, ut illum præ sententia mea excogitatis novis atque inauditis suppliciis, vel mea manu trucidem, jugulem, interimam. Ite igitur vos, cubicularie mi fidissime, et mandata dicto citius exequamini." Ille impiger, datis huc atque illuc regiis literis, extemplo cunctos regni potentatus advocat; mandata ut ocius exequantur admonet. Verum illa tempestate tyranno parere neglexit vir bonus et prudens dominus Stenle nunc comes Darbeyæ prædicti Richemundiæ comitis humanissimæ genitricis maritus, vir profecto unacum præclaris liberis suis fide ac sapientia præstanti. Hi æquitatis jura petenti Richemundiæ comiti non injuria adheserunt. His princeps ipse mirifice fretus recreatusque prælium audentius ingreditur. Quid multa? Jamque dies aderat qua prælium inire utrinque partes decreverant.

Auctoris excusatio.

Battle of Bosworth. Hoc ego bellum quamvis auribus acceperim, tamen hac in parte certior aure arbiter est oculus. Diem, igitur, locum, ac belli ordinem, quia ut dixi sum privatus hac luce oculorum, ne quid temerarie affirmem, supersedeo. Et pro tam bellico campo, donec plenius instructus fuero, campum quoque latum hoc in albo relinquo.[1]

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[1] A page and a half left blank after these words.

Parta Dei Optimi Maximique divina dispositione a Richemundiæ comite feliciter victoria, tyrannoque pro meritis trucidato, stridor lituum clangorque tubarum astra ferit. Ecclesiastici præterea ordinis omnes qui cum illo faustissimo Richemundiæ comite advenerant voces imo pectore ad cœlum usque cum pientissimis eunt precibus. Inter quos ille reverendus fidissimusque, tunc Secretorum, nunc vero Privati Sigilli Custos et Wyntoniensis præsul, dominus ac Mæcenas meus observandissimus, cœlestis militiæ copiis, unacum felicis recordationis fratre Michaele Dyaconi Assavensi episcopo Francicastro, regio quondam confessore, item domino Christoforo Wrsouyt[1], decano Wyndezoræ, regio tunc eleemosinario, prælatus erat. Princeps autem Christianissimus, non ut plerique mortalium solent, in prosperis humillimus extitit, manuque cunctis silentium imperante sic exorsus est: A.D. 1485.

Post triumphum ad Deum Richemundiæ Comitis gratulatio.

"Gratia nulla potest a me nunc digna referri: pro meritis tantis gratia nulla potest. Verum qui referre gratias non potest, habere agereque potis est. O magnum divinæ pietatis opus, mirabile dictu! Totum igitur cœlestis gratiæ dono ascribens, quod lingua et pectore nunc possum Tibi gratias ago, misericordissime Jesu, et tibi, O Virgo puerpera Dei genitrix, in cujus servitio hac luce Saturni dicata victoriam adeptus sum. Semper honore meo, semper celebrabere votis. Vosque omnes, Sancti indigetes, quorum suffragio triumphavi, pergite ad Deum preces effundere quatenus tam felicibus initiis fortuna demum respondeat. Abs te Henry's thanks-giving.

[1] Urswick.

A.D. 1485. principium, tibi desinet, O pia Virgo! dirige conceptas in tua vota preces Summæ Trinitati; Tibi omnibusque cœlicolis de referenda gratia deinceps providebo. Interim,

Præsules sacri celebres ministri,
Prima sunt vobis quibus Ille primo
Visus est olim recubare feno
Gaudia certe.

Quid dicam aliud nescio: tanta lætitia tantoque mœrore conficior. Lætitia primum, quia vos, ô commilitones mei ad patrios lares feliciter perduxi. Mœreor tamen tot fortiorum virorum stragem conspiciens, quos tamen honorifice mandare sepulturæ velim. Imprimis ipsius Richardi Regis in * * *[1] cum omnimoda reverentia sepeliendum sentio."

Post hæc illi mandata diligenter exequentes omnes humandos curaverunt.

* * * * * *[1]

He is saluted as king.

His honorificentissime præstitis Richemundiæ comes una eademque omnium voce ac voluntate Rex iterum iterumque claris vocibus salutatur. Tunc subditorum corda timore diu ac formidine præclusa laxantur, tunc quisque regi jam nominato cor suum aperit, juratque fidem, quam antea profiteri non audebat, se inviolatam servaturum. Capti sunt autem eo bello principes. * * * * * * *[1] et publica jussi custodia detineri quousque compositis pacatisque rebus, rex ipse liberius illis intendere posset.

De Regia Coronatione.

Arrives in London.

Rex ipse Richemundiæ comes Saturni luce, quo etiam die de hostibus triumpharat, urbem Londinum

[1] Blank in MS.

magna procerum comitante caterva lætanter ingressus est. Ad cujus adventum ego, etsi oculis captus, amore jampridem sui ac desiderio inflammatus astiti, lætusque poetico furore afflatus palam hoc carmen cecini: A.D. 1485.

De Prima Regis Victoria Carmen Sapphicum.

The author's verses on the victory.

Musa, præclaros age dic triumphos,
Regis Henrici decus ac trophæum
Septimi, lentis fidibus canora
Dic age, Clio.

Dicat arguta chorus ille sacro
Voce cum Phæbo, cythara canente
Grande certamen, ferat huncque regem
Semper ad astra.

Hujus adventum recinant jocosa
Fronte lætantes pueri et puellæ;
Civitas gaude velut uxor uno
Læta marito.

Ecce nunc omnes cecidere venti,
Murmuris præter Zephyrum tepentem.
Hic rosas nutrit nitidosque flores
Veris amœni.

Quando ceu longus tenuit colonos
Imber, et nubes resoluta fluxit,
Et diu pendens aratrum reliquit
Tristis arator;

Aureus tunc si roseis Apollo
Nubis obscuræ tenebras quadrigis
Vectus exsolvat[1] referatque lucem,
Cantat arator.

[1] *hæc solvat*, MS.

A.D. 1485.

Sic dies atras religat querelas
Quo suos princeps repetit Penates,
Et nitent soles melius potenti
Rege sub isto.

Navitæ vastum revolent per æquor
Caspium, et nullas metuant procellas.
Ultimos jamjam videat Gelonos
Anglica pinus.

Ergo jucundis hodie camœnis
Gaudeat late regio tumultu
Tota, nec post hoc metuat tenente
Rege coronam.

In hoc jucundissimo ingressu voces omnium audisses angelicum principis vultum prædicando benedicendoque, regium nomen Henrici ad sidera tollentes. Rex deinde longo fessus fatigatusque itinere (ex Sancto Albano quidem profectus erat) in palatio episcopali Londini illa nocte quievit. Deinceps de coronatione consulitur, et die a regiis consiliariis instituta arcem Londiniam rex adiit. Et quid inibi rerum gesserit insignes viros decorans honoribus militaribus atque heroicis hic narrare perlongum esset. Verum ubi de hujusmodi rebus certior factus fuero prolixius scribam. Quare hic spatium quoque prætermittere consilium fuit.

Honors bestowed at the coronation.

* * * * * *[1]

De Regalibus Conviviis et Torneamentis in ipsa coronatione regio luxu celebratis.

Hic etiam, Musa, pedem cohibe. Quorsum, temeraria, quorsum ire paras? Tantis impar es conscribendis illustrandisque rebus. Itaque donec ex aliis ut quæ-

[1] Half a page blank in MS.

que gesta fuerint intellexero illa similiter consulto prætermisi. A.D. 1485.

* * * * * *[1]

De Regali ejusdem conjugio.

Interea de uxore ducenda rege excellentissime coronato consilium deliberat. Et quamquam ante suam istuc profectionem dux ipse Franciscus Britanniæ cum Anna filia sua primogenita ipsum regem maritare sæpius orando contendisset, rex ipse prudentissimus sine suorum consilio quicquam peragere recusabat. Ad hæc accedebat Eduardi Quarti pro Elizabeth primogenita quoque filia sua dum vita fungebatur justa atque importuna pene solicitatio. Et sane, ut postea rei comprobavit eventus, de nutu prædicti Eduardi nobilissima ac prudentissima filia Henrico regi pudicissime servabatur.

Elizabeth Eduardi Quarti primogenitæ laus.

Non possum silentio præterire ipsius antememoratæ Eduardi Quarti filiæ dum adhuc puella esset laudes atque præconia: quare de multis pauca hic apposui. Inerat illi ab unguiculis Dei timor et servitium admirabile, in parentes vero mira observantia, erga fratres et sorores amor ferme incredibilis, in pauperes Christique ministros reverenda ac singularis affectio. Cum autem regem victoria potitum intellexisset lætitia animi exclamans, "Et tandem," inquit, "respexisti, Deus, in orationem humilium et non sprevistis preces eorum. Memini equidem, neque unquam me meminisse pigebit inclytæ memoriæ illustrissimum genitorem

Elizabeth daughter of Edward IV.

Her piety.

Her joy on hearing of Henry's victory.

[1] Half a page blank in MS.

A.D. 1485. meum huic quondam formosissimo principi me voluisse dicare. O utinam nunc tam digna forem! Sed, defuncto patre, amicis bonis careo qui tantum negotium attentarent. Addo quod alteram fortasse trans mare me forma, ætate, fortuna et dignitate majorem hic habiturus est. Quid dicam? Sola sum, et nemini consilium ausim aperire meum. Quid si matri referrem? Pudor est. Quid si aliis dominis? Non est audacia. O si cum illo communicare possem, forsitan inter loquendum in hanc sententiam incidere possem. Quicquid erit nescio: unum hoc scio quod nescit abesse Deus in se sperantibus. Quare, cogitandi finem faciens, in Te, Summe Deus, omnem spem repono meam: fac mecum secundum misericordiam tuam." His secum secreta mente reputatis, Deus Justus et Optimus tam justo præsertim puellari desiderio annuens tandem permisit ut principis animus, audita integritate, fide ac probitate puellæ, ad se amandum inclinaretur. Facto igitur, convocatoque omnium regni optimatium supremo consilio, decretum est ut ex duabus olim mortali odio laborantibus familiis una domus unanimi concordia fieret. Ergo tedis jugalibus toroque maritali congrua parantur ornamenta. Et in hoc etiam apparatu pro dignitate perscribendo hæret ac dubitat animus. Et idcirco tantam rerum affluentiam in ipsis regiis nuptiis ac reginæ coronatione affatim exhibitam, largifluis circumquaque muneribus liberaliter omnibus præstitis, conviviis, choreis, torneamentis ad id gaudii illustrandum amplificandumque largissimis, auri, argenti, annulorum, gemmarumque munificentia concelebratis, consulto prætermisi.

Marriage of Henry and Elizabeth.

A.D. 1486.

* * * * * *[1]

Post celebratas regales nuptias, ingens toto regno lætitia exorta est. Nam antea, ut dixi, vehemens et immortale odium præclaras domos illas pene

[1] Half a page blank in MS.

vastaverat. Sed postquam tam felici connubio conjunctas audiere, populi longe lateque gaudiorum ignes exstruxerunt, et choreis cantibus conviviisque per urbem Londinum multifariam concelebratis, Deum Optimum Maximum omnes utriusque sexus regis et reginæ prosperos successus precabantur, utque prole tandem suscepta ac novello principe edito illorum gaudia gaudiis cumularentur. Quorum precibus annuens dominus Jesus Christus non multis post diebus serenissimam reginam ex optata prole fœtam esse permisit. Tunc felicissimo regi nova felicitas, reginæ magna jucunditas, ecclesiæ summa lætitia, curiæ ingens hilaritas, toti denique regno incredibilis voluptas orta est. Nec abs re quidem; nam, ut postea res ipsa indicavit, non Anglia solum, imo vero totus (si majores in luce moras sibi fata dedissent) mundus de tanto pignore sempiternæ lætitiæ causas habuisset. Verum Deus qui cuncta gubernat, in cujus manu regnorum sceptra regumque vitæ modi sunt, aliter de illo disposuit. A.D. 1486.

De Arturo principe nato.

Gravida jam sed partui proxima regina, rex per id tempus regni tunc novi negotia determinans ac totius reipublicæ corpus diu antea per singula mutilatum membra reintegrans Wyntoniæ residebat. Partus vero tempore appropinquante, et revolutis mature pariendi mensibus, ecce princeps novellus oritur, tantam venustatem, gratiam ac virtutem præ se ferens ut omnem omnibus sæculis inauditam ante felicitatem protenderet. Hanc, equidem, faustissimi principis futuram prosperitatem quidam[1] furore divino afflatus, dum Elizabeth reginæ clarissimæ genitricis suæ coronationem præcineret, longe ante prædixerat hisce carminibus lyricis. Birth of Prince Arthur.

[1] *quidem* in MS.

A.D. 1486.

Reginæ Coronatæ prænosticum.

Descende sacro, Calliope, jugo:
Descende intonsi pectine Cynthii
Donata, musarumque prima,
Phitya plectra gerens adesto.

Regina, Summi progenies Jovis,
Verna coronam candidior rosa
Gestans, rosetis ut Diana
Prosilit e mediis refulgens;

Exorta divis cœlitus optimis,
Conjuncta tanto numine principi,
Totum decoris qui serenus
Laudibus exsuperat hunc[1] orbem.

O matre Phœbi nympha benignior,
Quæ tanta talem protulit principem,
Virtute præcellens numina,[2]
Quippe satum genitore tanto;[3]

Jurata juncto fœdere castitas
Effecit auctis justitiæ modis
Æterna quo regnans amore
Sæcula pax referat Sibyllæ.

Regina læto pectore, civitas,
Ergo coronam excipit inclytam.
Gaudeto præclaras utrasque[4]
Semper honore rosas canendo.

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[1] *exsuperat hunc*] Sic, qu. pro *exsuperavit?*

[2] Sic in MS.

[3] In the MS. this line is placed before the preceding one.

[4] *præclaras ad astra utrasque*, MS.; but the words *ad astra* should doubtless have been cancelled, as they are superfluous and destroy the metre.

Suavissimas flagrantissimasque rosas, purpuream videlicet ac niveam Arturus ipse uno eodemque stipite pululans tanta prosperitate secundavit ut omnium retro principum reliquorum famam ejus inclyta virtus, si non exsuperaverit, æquavit certe. A.D. 1486.

De Arturo sacrosancto fonte regnato.

Post tam prosperum sidus Arturi sterili tunc novellorum principum mundo collatum omnes Erebi Furiæ longe profligatæ sunt. Orta enim Arcturi stella, quæ secundum genetliacos xij. calend. Octobris oritur, Arturus quoque princeps natus est. In cujus natalis gratulatione centum a nobis carmina composita sunt, quæ propter prolixitatem hic omisimus; quorum initium tale est:

Verses in honor of his birth.

" Pergite nascentem puerum celebrare, Camœnæ,
Et prolem claris ducentem regibus ortum;
Solennem celebrare diem redimite decenti,
Angli, flore comas, et cingite tempora sertis.
Tibia det sonitum, pueri teneræque puellæ
Et choreas agitent et plausibus æthera pulsent,
Lætaque festivos tractet Londinia ludos.
Regius ecce puer Arturus surgit Olympo
Missus ab æthereo, nostri spes altera regni.
Spargite humum viridi permixta floribus herba,
Et cedente die dent læta incendia lucem.
Fastus adest felixque dies celeberrimus Anglis.
Vulgus " Io Pæan," "Io Pæan" curia dicat.
Instaurent epulis mensas et pocula libent,
Alterutrumque bibant pleno cratere Lyæum,
Principis et nomen sua quisque ad pocula dicat.

A.D. 1486.

Vosque triumphali devincti tempora lauro,
Aris digna Deo persolvite vota, parentes,
Annuat ut nato quodcunque, Henrice, rogabis.
Nec tamen interea cessent solennia templis,
Sed pastorali mitra bissoque togatus
Antistes Christi sacrum de more ministret.
Inde sacerdotes magnis cum laudibus hymnos
Vociferant blandos, et numina sancta precentur
Ut puerum foveant qui splendida facta parentis
Augeat et proavos vincat pietate vel armis.
Et faciet, quoniam genium sic indicat; ergo
Dum matutinos præducet Lucifer ortus,
Hesperus occiduas dum Phœbum plectet ad undas,
Dumque vices certas et volvet stellifer orbis,
Annua tam celebris veneremur festa diei,
Urantur pia thura focis, urantur odores,
Divite quos felix emittit Arabia terra.
Ipse suos veniat genius visurus honores
Et puro ipsius distillent tempora nardo."[1]

Et reliqua quæ sequuntur; quæ dum felicitatem quam protendebant, et rursus calamitatem, lacrymosamque toti regno tempestatem insperato contingentem ob ipsius immaturam principis mortem considero, hæret mediusfidius lingua pallato. Prosequar nihilominus, ne historiæ tenorem prætermittam, ipsiusque sacro fonte regnati pompam festivitatem magnificentissimumque apparatum aliis conscribenda relinquam.

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[1] Parts of this poem are taken from Tibullus, lib. ii. eleg. ii.

A.D. 1486.

De felicibus virtutum successibus.

Crescente paulatim ætate, virtutum quoque incrementa in ipso adhuc infantulo prælucebant. Tanta vis est naturæ ut sine educatione aut cujusquam adminiculo suapte bonitate ingenita nutritoribus suis virtutum futuram ostenderet indolem. Postquam enim velocissime prima litterarum elementa pernovisset, ad altiorem scientiæ cognitionem ab optimo et doctissimo præceptore suo magistro Johanne Red sine magno utriusvis labore perductus est. Nos autem post aliquot annos nonnihil adjumenti attulimus; estque de nobis illud apostolicum verificatum, "Apollo plantavit, ego rigavi, Dominus autem incrementum dedit." Hoc unum audacter affirmarim, illa ætate qua sextumdecimum nondum attigerat annum in grammatica Garinum, Perotum, Pomponium, Sulpicium, Aulum Gellium, Vallam; in poetica Homerum, Virgilium, Lucanum, Ovidium, Silium, Plautum, Terentium; in oratoria Ciceronis Officia, Epistolas, Paradoxa, Quintilianum; in historia Thucydidem, Titum Livium, Cæsaris Commentaria, Suetonium, Cornelium Tacitum, Plinium, Valerium Maximum, Sallustium, Eusebium ipsum, vel memoriæ partim commendasse, vel certe propriis manibus oculisque tum volutasse tum lectitasse. Post hæc successit illius gratissima atque omnibus regni proceribus optatissima creatio in excelso Westmonasterii palatio concelebrata, tanta rerum omnium ubertate, opulentia, munificentia, ac liberalitate ut verbis id a me vix exprimi possit. Verumtamen nostris quantuliscunque versiculis excellentissimam suam creationem infrasubscriptis decoravimus.

His extraordinary precocity.

His creation as Prince of Wales, A.D. 1489.

D. 1489.

De Arturi principis creatione.

" Arturi O soboles, atavis exorta beatis,
O decus et princeps nostri pulcherrime regni
Gloria, quæ astriferos[1] jamjam triateride plena
Surgit adusque polos totum vulgata per orbem.
Regia magnanimi proles celeberrima regis
Septimi Henrici, præmissum nomen Olympo,
Salve, Arture, iterum salve, quem lucida partu
Pleias enixa est, niveis, Pæstane,[2] rosetis
Ipsa, colone, tuis præstantior, unde capessat
Orsa tuo adventu Clio, quo tota creatum
Anglia magnificis te æternum tollere[3] ad astra
Laudibus incepta[4] est. O lux memoranda quotannis!
Hæc est illa dies qua Arturi sæcula magni
Effigiem pueri sub imagine cernere claram
Nostra queant. Jam, Phœbe, veni citharaque per altum
Nunc Helicona sona, quo principis alma creandi
Arturi Aonidum præconia turba sororum
Tanta canat, recolatque diem solennibus escie.
Finieram, cum nostra Deus fulgore corusco
Limina pulsavit Musis comitatus Apollo;
Qualis ubi Delon veniens tua, Xanthe, fluenta
Linquit et humorem[5]; saliunt[6] Dryopes, Agathyrsi
Cantibus exiliunt; plectro modulatus eburno
Sic prior ingreditur dictis[7] ac talia fatur:

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[1] *astriferas*, MS.
[2] *Pæstave*, MS.
[3] *tollet*, MS.
[4] *incerta*, MS.
[5] *timorem*, MS.
[6] *saliũ*, MS.
[7] *de dictis*, MS.

'Surge, Erato, ex humili, jam, jam tibi sumere plectra A.D. 1489.
Aurea nostra licet; incipe, cara soror,
Solennem celebrare diem, penetralibus atque
Instaurare focos. Orta beata dies,
Arturum qua sceptra dabo tentare paterna
(Sic pia fata jubent); ecce creandus adest.
Sumito turba novem Phœbi pia carmina, Musæ,
Et viridi sacras cingite fronde comas.
Ipse triumphali redimam mea tempora lauro
Ut pia cum genio sacra videre queam.'
Dixerat arguta digitis et voce locutus
Cum cecinit modulis ex mea Musa suis.

Noster Arturo chorus, O sorores,
Principis laudes hodie camœnis,
Dicat hoc Phœbus, jubet hæcque princeps
Rite creatus.

Cujus affulsit populo serenus
Vultus ut veri simili rubenti.
Gratior solis radius nitescit
Pulcher ocellis.

Hoc nihil majus potuit Britannis
Jupiter fatis dare summus æquis,
Nec dabit quamvis redeant Superbi
Sæcula Regis.

Gloriam summo referant parentes,
Ergo, qui talem genuere divi
Indolis claræ puerum, Tonanti
Sacra ferentes.

Gaudeat late regio canoris
Vocibus nomen repetens creati
Principis, lætos pueri et puellæ
Ducite cantus.

Vota dî servent faciles utrique,
Ut diu felix superet parenti,
Quique post longum genitoris ævum
Sumat habenas.

A.D. 1489.

Patre cum divo seniore terras
Et senex ponti regat et tridentem.
Fila producens Lachesis jubeto
Currere fusos."

Hæc ideo de creatione carmina post ipsius natalem hic apposui quamquam scirem non eo ordine tempora fuisse consecuta, ut possem consequenter ad ipsius regis famam immortalem illustrandam opportunius aggredi.

Mittit Innocentius ad Invictissimum Regem egregia munera.

The Pope sends Henry the sword of justice and cap of maintenance.

Per idem tempus Innocentius Pontifex Maximus reverendissimum episcopum Concordiensem unacum ense, auro, gemmisque, galero atque ornatissimo ad regem legavit. Qui postquam honorifice in urbe Londino receptus est post aliquot dies ab ipso rege in conspectum reverendo admodum vultu prodiit, vir inquam venerabilis et perfacundus. Cui postquam fandi data est copia, post relatas ultro citroque salutes, quanto Pontifex Maximus gaudio affectus est propter adeptam ipsius victoriam enunciavit; dein majestati suæ magnopere summa cum facundia gratulari; neque unquam sanctitatem suam dubitasse quin[1] Dei nutu sua sublimitas ad vota perveniret; Deum sic solere regna disponere ut aliquandiu illis impunitatem, istis injuriam perpeti concedat, tandem jus suum unicuique reddere; et quoniam audivit ad extremum sic evenisse omnia, tamquam pignus et monumentum fidei nostræ perpetuum ad bonorum exemplum malorumque formidinem gladium justitiæ, galerum vero longanimitatis

[1] *qui* in MS.

ac perseverantiæ ad se misisse, sperareque illum aliquando totius rei Christianæ monarchiam adversus militantis ecclesiæ hostes truculentissimos defensurum. Quibus verbis ab ipsius regis cancellario * * *[1] non minus prudenter quam diserte responsum est. Ille responsione tam benigna contentus amplis donatus muneribus lætabundus abiit. A.D. 1489.

De varia principum legatione.

Fuere ea tempestate ad prudentissimum regem variis ex regionibus oratores destinati; domini profecto insigni stemmate, excellenti ingenio, eximia doctrina, plurima rerum copia præditi, qui ob inclyti regis famam longe lateque per orbem terrarum volitantem gratulatum advenerant. Galli imprimis, Iberi Teutones, Burgundi, Lusitani, Pannonii, Caledoniique a suis illustrissimis regibus ad regum omnium tamquam patrem atque imperatorem destinati; quos omnes pro dignitate personarum ac nobilitatis antiquitate, adeo humaniter, adeo sapienter, adeo magnifice suscepit mansuetissimus rex ut nihil ad cumulum honoris amplitudinis et liberalitatis reliquerit. Hos itaque omnes ubi singulariter orantes audivit magna cum gratulatione dimisit. Illi ad suos se celeriter contulere. Ambassadors of different countries congratulate Henry.

Interim boreales in quendam suum illustrem alioquin et bello præstantem ac de regia majestate benemeritum comitem Nortumbrorum, quia regis partes agebat, incautum invadentes trucidarunt. De cujus nece versus a nobis qui sequuntur editi sunt: A.D. 1488. Insurrection in the North.

[1] Blank in MS.

A.D. 1488.

De Nortumbrorum comitis nece.

Verses on the murder of the earl of Northumberland.

"Nunquid es ludo satur, O Quirine?
Tam gravi quanto, furibunde, pulsu
Cogis humanos animos furenti
Currere motu!

Desinas, tandem, superate nostro
Septimo Henrico totiens minari,
Qui tuo campo triplici reportans
Pila triumphat,

Lauriger princeps, placidusque, mitis;
Hosticos omnes reprimit furores,
Ut diuturna liceat Britannis
Vivere pace.

Quid feros, O Mars truculente! agrestes
Dexteris movit, duce te,[1] cruentis
(Proh scelus!) tantum comitem nefanda
Perdere morte.

Ergo jam, vani quoniam tumultus
Irriti prorsus cecidere nostri
Regis invicti sapiente cura,
Tela reconde.

Perge, rex fortis, pie, rex benigne,
Perge, nam sacris mihi crede votis,
Annuet Christus genitrixque semper
Virgo beata.

Et prement atras Erebi sorores
Læta per totum tua fata mundum;
Vela perducent Zephyri secundi
Per mare vastum.

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[1] *innit ducte*, MS., doubtless inaccurately transcribed from an older copy of the poem.

Faxit ut nostris precibus diurnis A.D. 1488.
Supplices hoc nos Deus, hoc precamur,
Ut diu regni teneas habenam
Sospite cursu;

Currat et late per aprica rura
Sancta pax demum facies, O princeps!
Dî dabunt vires, bene perge, tendunt
Carbasa venti.

Nunc tibi, nunc rex rediit serenus,
Civitas, claros modo sume vultus;
Dure jam pratis vacuus maneto
Cum bove, arator.

Hæduli jamjam saliant petulci
Per rubos florem cytisi virentes.
Inter audaces lupus erret agnos,
Hoste subacto.

Gaudeant omnes tenues popelli.
Gaudeas passim, regio, canoris
Vocibus promens, repetente cantus
Rege penates."

Rex itaque audita comitis nece molestissime tulit, collectaque manu boreales partes adiit atque in omnes qui insurrexerunt severe pro meritis animadvertit. Inde paulo post in Hibernia novitatis aliud ac proditionis in regem molitum est.

De Conjuratione Hibernica.

A.D. 1487.

Crudescente iterum filiorum Eduardi regis diro funere, ecce aliud novum facinus seditiosi homines excogitarunt; quippe ut fictionem suam mendacio velarent quemdam vulgo natum, puerum, sive pistoris, sive sutoris, filium Eduardi Quarti scelerata mente jactaverunt. Tantum apud eos valet audacia ut neque

Imposture of Lambert Simnel.

A.D. 1487. Deum neque homines, quum in regem suum odium conciperent, formidare curent. Sic, igitur, excogitata inter ipsos fallacia, Eduardi secundum filium in Hibernia regem coronatum fama retulit. Cumque ad regem talis rumor delatus esset, ipse ut est sagacissimus ab illis percontatur omnia; quomodo videlicet et a quibus illuc delatus sit, ubi educatus, ubi tamdiu moratus, quos haberet amicos, et alia hujusmodi permulta sapienter investigat. Nuncii missi pro rerum varietate varii, postremo * * * *[1] qui se illum si talis esset facile cogniturum asserebat, transmissus est. Ille autem arte mala jam instructus ab his qui Eduardi tempora notaverant ad omnia caduciferi interrogata promptissime respondebat. Tandem, ne longum faciam, falsa suggerentium instructione a plurimis eisdemque prudentibus viris Eduardi filius credebatur, adeoque firmiter tenebatur ut plerique mortem oppetere pro illo minime dubitarent. Quod sequitur specta. Tanta fuit illis diebus illustrium etiam virorum ignorantia, tanta cæcitas (ne superbiam aut malitiam dixerim), ut comes Linconiensis * * * * * * *[1] idem credere non ambigeret. Et quoniam ex ipsius Eduardi stirpe ductum habebat, domina Margareta olim Karoli novissimi ducis Burgondionum uxor Eduardique germana illum per litteras ad se vocavit; qui furtim hinc fugiens ad illam, paucis tantæ proditionis consciis, celeriter est profectus. Atque ut rem paucis breviter expediam, qua opera et consilio prædictæ mulieris Hiberni borealesque ad hanc seditionem evocantur. Collecta itaque tam Teutonum quam Hibernorum expeditione, opitulante semper jamdicta domina, in Angliam brevi trajiciunt, oramque borealem appellunt.

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[1] Blank in MS.

De Secundo Henrici Septimi Triumpho. A.D. 1487.

Rex divino semper numine fretus, ubi hæc audivit sine ulla trepidatione, sed constanti præstantique animo suos ita seorsum alloquitur:

Regis Oratio.

"Fidissimi domini ac strenuissimi bellorum socii, qui tanta pericula mecum terra marique estis experti, ecce iterum inviti altero tentamur prælio. Comes enim Linconiensis, ut nostis, homo perfidus, sine ulla sibi a me data occasione iniquam adversum me causam tutatur. Neque hoc facit, ut videtis, dissimulanter, verum impudentissime, sine ullo Dei timore; non tantum nobis ut incommodet quam ut obsequatur levis ac procacis mulierculæ consilio; quæ sanguinem suum a Richardo fratre suo extinctum non ignorat, vérum quia stirpi nostræ sanguis ille semper inimicatus est, parum nepti suæ consorti meæ clarissimæ prospiciens, nos ac liberos nostros perdere tentat. Videtis ergo quotiens ab ipsis irritamur; sed inultum a nobis id nunquam auferet. Deum imprimis testor et sanctos angelos ejus equidem, saluti vestræ communique quieti dum noctes atque dies consulere paro, repugnat hostis antiquus. Verumtamen Deus judex justus fortis et patiens huic quoque malo remedium afferet. Vos interea hortor et moneo ut plus valeat hoc tempore justa hæreditas quam illorum iniquitas. Nec dubitetis quin Deus ipse qui nos superiore bello victores effecit idem nunc de hostibus nos triumphare permittet. Aggrediamur itaque illos intrepidi; nam Deus noster adjutor est." The King's speech to his soldiers.

Finierat cum jam respondere parato ut ante comiti Oxoniensi rex quia tempus urgebat silentium indicit ac temporis angustiæ consulendum imperavit. Illi

A.D. 1487. ferme præcipites, atra ceu tempestate columbæ, arma capessunt. Jamque barbarorum turmis appropinquabat regius exercitus; illique supercilio montis instructi paratique nostros operiebantur. Sed Deus ultionum Dominus injustas illorum iras vindicans, repentino venti turbine, velut dum Constantinus adversus ecclesiæ hostes dimicaret, exorto dum præliantur, nostri qui putabantur superati illos denique subjecerunt. Tunc subito ad æthera exortus clamor "Rex Henricus," clangentibus undique tubis, aures omnium lætitia complevit. Ibi nebulonum ille regulus in Hibernia ut ante dixi coronatus misellus bello capitur; qui interrogatus qua audacia tantum facinus vapulo facere ausus esset, a quibusdam suæ sortis flagitiosis hominibus se fuisse coactum non negavit.[1] Deinde super generis ac parentum conditione interrogatus, viles omnino personas, vilibusque officiis, nec in hac historia inseri dignis, omnes fuisse confessus est. Comes autem ille Linconiensis dignum factis exitium pertulit; nam in campo interemptus est, et item alii permulti, quorum dux atque imperator Martinus Souarp, vir alioquin bellicis artibus egregie doctus, fortiter pugnando corruit. Parta Dei Optimi Maximi gratia a rege nostro victoria, paucis admodum suorum in eo bello trucidatis, Londinum Deo gratulatum revertitur, tota comitante caterva. Pro cujus felicissimo reditu carmen hoc a nobis compositum est:

The rebels are subdued.

Verses in honor of the victory.

Nocturnas alii Phrygum ruinas,
Et tarde reducis vias Ulixis,
Et puppem temerariam Minervæ,
Trita vatibus orbita sequantur.
Laudent Hectora Thessalosque currus,
Et supplex Priami potentis aurum.

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[1] In the margin here occur the words "Pierquini confessio" inserted by mistake.

Hic Pelusiaci scelus Canopi, A.D. 1487.
Atque iste ossibus Italis Philippos
Albentes canat enitente plectro.
Hi claros probitate Scipiadas
Magna voce sonent; Catonis illi
Dicant justitiam viri severam;
Antiquumque numen[1] metu deorum
Et cum religione dicat alter;
Alter non taceat tuam, Metelle,
Virtutem. Sed enim tuus, diserte
Regis magnanimi quidem minister,
Cui cum Pallade Phœbus ipse claras
Artes contulit utriusque juris;
Mores ingenuos, salubre corpus,
Prudens consilium, ducis favorem
Tanti humaniter et dedere nymphæ
Humano tibi, quod meis camœna
Virtutes fidibus vel Amphionis[2]
Digno promere non valet Thalia.
Henrici cano Septimi triumphos
Divi principis; ille cura Phœbo
Solus; namque meos amat benigne
Princeps versiculos colitque musas,
Princeps belligeris decorus armis,
Princeps vincere nec ferire lætus,
Princeps æquoreum regens tridentem,
Princeps cura sui tremorque regni,
Princeps Martigenæ decus Quirini,
Princeps Cecropia nitens oliva,
Princeps, Crœse, tuas opes repellens,
Princeps Mercurii nepos superni,
Princeps ingenio nitente præstans,
Fama, religione, comitate,
Sensu, sanguine, gratia, decore.

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[1] Sic in MS. [2] *Amphienis* in MS.

A.D. 1487.

Ergo fistula nostra semper illum
Tollet quantulacumque ad astra semper;
Et nomen recitabit usque donec,—
Donec saxa vadis levata natent
Imis, Antinous[1] (?) vel heros
Audax non timeat suum Melampum.[2]

A crusade proclaimed.

Redeunti de victoria invictissimo regi Summi Pontificis legatus[3] in urbe Londino adfuit, qui adversus hostes ecclesiæ cruciatam ab ipso beatissimo patre concessam nunciavit. Quam benignissime ut solet omnes humanissimus rex cum gaudio suscepit, jussisque Romani Pontificis tamquam patri filius obedientissimus paruit, et illico ipsam cruciatam per totum suum regnum divulgari imperavit. Et de hujus quoque legati adventu versus a nobis hi extemporaliter editi sunt:

Ad legatum Summi Pontificis.

Romani colitur chori sacerdos.
Vestrâ est ista dies, favete Musæ.
Venit flumina qui et greges ferarum
Et plectro Geticas moveret ornos.
Huic cedit furor arduus Lucreti,
Et qui per freta duxit Argonautas,
Et qui corpora prima transfigurat.
Quid majus loquar? huic ferocis Ennî[4]
Cedit musa rudis, Maroniani te[5]
Exempli margine nam[6] sedet poeta,

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[1] *Anthenonis* (?), MS.

[2] Parts of this poem are taken from Statius Sylv. lib. ii. 7.

[3] John de Giglis, or de Liliis, bishop of Worcester.

[4] *Emay*, MS.

[5] Sic, qu. *et?*

[6] There is manifestly some inaccuracy here which it is impossible to rectify.

A.D. 1487.

Et junctæ pede vocis et solutæ
Præcallet numeros. Beata tellus,
Summis[1] oceani videns in undis
Pronos Hyperionis meatus,
Lucanum tulit unicum proavis;
At nobis eadem alterum nitenti
Lucensi dedit urbe, Liliorum
Ductum germine, carminum nitore,
Fama, simplicitate, comitate,
Sensu, sanguine, gratia, decore.[2]

Altera ex Francia legatio.

The French King sues for peace.

Nec longe post, Christianissimi Francorum regis Karoli Octavi eloquentissimus orator, Gaguinus, ordinis Sanctæ Trinitatis generalis, una cum Francisco domino de Luxemburgo et * * * *[3] clarissimis collegis suis, ad regem nostrum pacis fœdera supplicantes honorifice advenerunt. Quibus[4], post luculentam orationem qua ut dixi pacem et amicitiam precabantur, piæ memoriæ reverendissimus Cardinalis Cantuariensis disertissime prudentissimeque in hanc respondit sententiam: "Regiam sublimitatem exemplo Salvatoris nostri pacis semper fuisse studiosissimam; verum pacem haberi non posse nisi propulsata injuria et contumelia; bellaque eo moveri solita, ut sine injuria in pace vivantur. Quare Gallorum regem prius reddere debere quæ sua

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[1] *Summos*, MS.

[2] Several of the expressions in this poem also are derived from that of Statius above referred to.

[3] Blank in MS.

[4] *Quis*, MS.

A.D. 1487. sunt regi nostro, postea pacem petere." His ita protractis rex in consultationem rem ipsam posuit. Tandem inter eos decretum est ut si tributum non solverent, bellum in illos brevi strueretur. Alia quæ inter eos consultim[1] acta sunt quia me fugiunt prætereo. Illi igitur, tali responsione ad regem suum redeuntes, iterum ad nos missi sunt, rationes nescio quas afferentes, quæ regi nostro minime placuere. Et idcirco prædictus Gaguinus furore incitatus versiculos in regem nostrum temerarie effudit, quorum tale fuit initium :

" Siccine tam crebris frustra conventibus Anglos
Quærimus," etc.

Caleti enim, quod præmittere debueram, primum de pace cum nostris oratoribus conventum habuerant. Sed pulchre bonæ memoriæ dominus Johannes de Gilliis, vir profecto divinarum humanarumque rerum peritissimus, in illum cavillatus est, ac nomine regio respondit illi præfato oratori ; qui propter opiparum atque splendidissimum convivium quo rex humanissimus omnifaria[2] ferculorum lautitia copiosissime exuberantium exceperat, carmine suo, quod nunc menti non occurrit, regem pastorem vocaverat. Sic ille facete inquit, " Si me pastorem, te decet esse pecus," et alia permulta. Tum dominus Petrus Carmelianus Bricciensis, orator et poeta clarissimus ac regius secretarius benemeritissimus, lepidissimo carmine suo, quod propter ejus absentiam dum hæc scriberem habere non potui, fellitum alterius risum mirum in modum sugillavit. Taceo facundissimi oratoris Cornelii Vitellii in eundem mordacissimum epigramma, cujus est principium :

" Siccine purpureos incessis carmine reges ?
Legati officio siccine functus abis ? "

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[1] Sic in MS.

[2] *omnifariam*, MS.

Et nos quoque, qui de grege poetarum sumus, non paucos ut illi, sed pene ducentos in illum debacchati sumus, quippe nil audacius est malo poeta. Primum igitur heroicis fere quinquaginta, quorum initium : A.D. 1487.

"Phœbe pater, jam, Phœbe, veni : fas antra movere Delia."

Post, elegis :

"Nestoris annosi," etc.

Item aliis sic initientibus :

"Puppis ad Œnopiam," etc.

Iterum aliis hendecasyllabis, "Cum tot sustineas"; quorum finem hic apposui propter memoriam, seu majus jactantiam :

"Miles gaudet equis, colonus agris
Venator canibus, poeta musis ;
Sic urit sua quemlibet voluptas."

His atque hujusmodi compluribus dicteriis explosus exsibilatusque, furibundus abiit. Rex vero interea quæ ad bellum necessaria videbantur maturare præcepit ut ante brumam expeditionem trajiceret ; hyems enim appropinquabat.

De legatione Maximiliani Regis Romanorum.

Dum hæc per Angliam disponuntur, magna cum magnis et excellentibus viris a Maximiliano Romanorum rege in Angliam legatio venit. Causas tantæ legationis, quia de regiis personis dicere ad me non attinet, præsertim ubi parum ad rem faciunt, prætermitto. Unum hoc dicere ausim, regem præfatum olim adversus regem nostrum causas injuriarum movisse quam maximas, quas alio in loco opportunius commemorabimus. Expositis itaque ultro citroque utrinque causis, ad propria legati rediere. Et eos ab inclyto archiduce Philippo Flandriæ altera legatio venit Embassy of Maximilian.

A.D. 1487. dominis instructa superbis, inter quos præcipuus * * * * * *[1]; quos omnes toto cum egregio comitatu eorum, qui pacis et amicitiæ causa venerant, rex jucundissime suscepit. Postea amplissimis donatos muneribus illos dimisit.

Birth of Prince Henry and the Princess Margaret.

Hoc in loco in mentem venit serenissimæ dominæ Margaretæ, illustrissimi regis nostri filiæ primogenitæ, excellentissimique Henrici ducis Eboraci, prædicti regis secundo nati filii, natalis longe celeberrimus; qui antequam prædicta contingerent in lucem fuerunt editi. Verum amborum natalibus felicissimis, dum istæc in mundum redigerentur, conscribendis tempus aliud opportunius erit. Obiter incepta prosequamur.

De Regis in Galliam trajectione.

A.D. 1492. The King invades France,

Paratis ad expeditionem omnibus, rex prudentissimus ubi regni sui super statu omnia providit, Deo cuncta gubernanti committens, exercitum in Galliam, veluti prius consulto instituerat, transmittere curavit.

De Gallorum formidine.

Audito victoriosissimi regis nostri adventu inopinato, Galli subita formidine trepidare; arma capere; pars Boloniam versus properare, pars dominum de Cordis rogare, ut tantis periculis suapte prudentia resisteret; præterea eidem superioris temporis jacturas in bello illatas memorare. Ille, ut erat cunctabundus, prius regis sui placitum spectare, illos territos confirmare. Interim rex noster clarissimæ reginæ illustrissimisque liberis

[1] Blank in MS.

suis ubi bene consuluit prospero vento se commisit. A.D. 1492.
Sed antequam ex littore solveret in hanc sententiam ad suos proceres verba fecit:

Regis Oratio.

"Memini equidem, clarissimi domini, ut vos prius cum sacris eloquiis conveniam, non in multitudine exercitus victoria belli, sed de cœlo fortitudo est. Nolite igitur viribus vestris nimium confidere; sed in Deo potius spes vestras apponite. Ut vestris faverem consiliis bellum ingens atque arduum aggredior; verum non in fortitudine virorum, nec in multitudine armorum, equorum, divitiarum, cæterarumque rerum solum confido; sed in Dei misericordia pietate ac præsidio spem meam omnem reposui. Et quamquam dilectissimæ consortis meæ, necnon parvulorum adhuc liberorum nostrorum affectio, præterea ingruentis jam hyemis difficultas, me non parum sollicitent, tamen votis malui vestris quam meis hoc tempore morem gerere ut ad rem bene gerendam animos vestros noster invitet amor, attrahat charitas, vincat affectio, suadeat humanitas. Verum, quia tempus hoc pluribus verbis non indiget, finem dicendi facio."

Besieges Boulogne.

Tunc suis vale faciens reliquit super negotia regia. Itaque mandatis omnibus quæ volebat felici navigatione Caletum advenit. Et, ut cuncta quæ illic gesta sunt præteream, Bononiam oppidum munitissimum prima fronte obsidens, tormentis illud bellicis fortiter oppugnare cœpit. Illi contra resistere, et intra mœnia se tueri; in campum exire non audere, sed machinis e muro se defendere. Interea Galli, coacto consilio, dominum de Cordis ad regem nostrum jussu regis sui legavere; qui post salutes a rege suo relatas, magnis pollicitacionibus primum regem tentare, deinde

A.D. 1492. precibus supplex orare ut ab incepto desisteret. Rex, ut est natura pacificus, neque sanguinis humani profusor, in consultationem rem ipsam posuit. Interim domino præfecto Caleti, domino Egidio Daubenay, nunc supremo regio cubiculario, viro sane prudentissimo fidissimoque, rem totam commisit cum altero communicandam. Tandem operante Deo via pacis comperta est sub benignissimo principe Monte Aureo. Quocirca, pactionibus utrinque transactis scriptoque solenniter commendatis, antiquum jus suum rex noster sub tributo ut alii sui sanguinis antecessores poposcit; quod quidem gratiosissime a rege Gallorum concessum est, cum multis aliis supra notitiam meam additis, unde spatium quoque hic relictum est; ut reliqua a me per ignorantiam prætermissa, posthac quum ad perfectum ineptias nostras redigi princeps edixerit, adjicientur.

* * * * * *

De Reditu Regis nostri.

and returns to England.

Post fœdera pacis pro sua sententia confirmata rex clementissimus, quandoquidem instabat hyems, suos properavit revisere penates. Accedebant ab ipsa tunc mœstissima regina litteræ quam creberrimæ, omnimodæ suavitatis et amoris plenissimæ, quæ profecto non parum humanum regis ingenium mansuetumque animum ad revertendum alliciebant. Rebus itaque illic universis feliciter tam Caleti quam apud Guynes compositis, Junone secunda, austrisque suave[1] flantibus, rex toto cum exercitu suo salvus reversus est et in Cantium appulsus, ubi divo Thomæ Cantuariensi vota persolvens, post Londinum populis undiquaque lætitia exhilaratis gaudenter * * * *[2]

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[1] Sic, pro *suaviter*.

[2] Blank in MS.

ingressus est. Pro cujus felicissimo reditu nos quoque pauca quæ sequuntur hilariter cecinimus. A.D. 1492.

Pro victoriosissimi Regis e Gallia reditu congratulatio.

Ad Musam.

Vade ad laurigerum canens trophæum,
O felix, sine me, et beata Clio,
Quæ tantos hodie vides triumphos
Et cernis venerabilem senatum
Tanto occurrere plaudere atque regi.
Quo majus potuit nihil Britannis
Excelsus dare Jupiter, nec ipse
Ad delubra deûm referre majus
Princeps munera quam sacrata pacis.
Gaudent hac Superi, popellus ista,
Hanc totus veneratur ecce mundus.
I, nunc, laurea pacis et quietis
Velatum nitidos lares benigni
Regis pacis amor Deus faveto.

Verses on the occasion.

De eodem.

Ecce diem roseis palatias alma quadrigis
De Morino rediens littore pulchra vehit.
Memnonis heus genitrix, ecquid tam plena rosarum
Atria, purpureas conspicioque fores?
Cur non diffugiunt ignes, Matuta, minores
Et cur tam pigros, Bosphore, jungis equos?
An quia magnificas vultis, pia numina, pompas
Cernere, et invicti clara trophæa ducis?
Effugite ignivomos celeres conjungere Solis
Quadrupedes: Horæ protinus ecce parant.

A.D. 1492.

Pro eodem.

Ergo præclaros hodie triumphos
Concinens late regio Britanna
Gaudeat, magnas studeatque Christo
Solvere grates.

Tuque, Mars, vani quoniam tumultus
Jam tui prorsus cecidere nostri
Principis cura, furibunde, sævas
Conde sagittas.

Vive, rex fortis, pius atque mitis,
Vive, nam paci Deus et quieti
Annuit semper, jubet et quieta
Vivere pace.

O utinam Angligenis, Mars, nunquam intestina bella parares, belligerum alioquin populum tot retro sæculorum ætatibus victoriosum semper tuereris, et sub hoc sapientissimo rege Henrico Septimo vel maxime, quo nec præstantior ullus ante fuit nec erit, redeant licet Saturni sæcula regis, qui si vera est fama auream ætatem primus in orbem introduxit. Sed illum ut est in fabulis Jupiter e regno pepulit. Nostrum autem, cui Aureus Mons agnomento est, Saturno felicior sapientiorque, regnandi sua tempora in ævum prorogabit; sic enim Superis complacitum est. Et quamquam infelix invidia sæpius illum suis depellere successibus demolita est, tamen adversus Deum irrita sunt quæcunque moliuntur homines; qui tamen Deus, sua arcana nulli prorsus mortalium cognita ratione, interdum hominum improbitatem contra bonos et justos desævire patitur, ut virtus, quæ in medio habitat, ut aurum in fornace probetur. Legimus itidem Herculi evenisse, qui post tot monstra fatali subacta labore tandem reperit invidiam supremo fine renasci. Quid Remum et Romulum, quid Alexandrum atque Pompeium mag-

norum nomine decoratos; nonne livor edax atrociter omnes persecutus est? Equidem Christianorum principum video adhuc superesse neminem quem ægra bonis invidia non molestaverit. Imprimis vero quos aliqua virtutis et honoris præcellentia cæteros præstare videt; quorum bona omnium pace dixerim noster hic Henricus facile princeps est. Verum ne totiens laudando aut adulari aut assentari videar, institutum prosequamur. A.D. 1492.

De Perquino.

Verum est quod vulgo dicitur, invidia moritur nunquam. Hoc siquidem in eo quod mox dicturus sum indigno facinore luce clarius cernere est. Illa namque, salva[1] regiæ stirpis reverentia, Margareta Burgundiæ, Juno quondam huic regi altera, tantis pristinis odiis non satiata, novum quoddam et inauditum antea facinus in regem nostrum excogitavit; ejusque immortale odium, quia æterna est mulieris ira,[2] ad regis nostri subditos derivare conata est. Non autem potuit ejus toxicum nisi leves ac futiles movere personas. Inter quas Secretarius Gallicus regiæ serenitatis, nomine Stephanus Frion, veneno muliebris suggestionis infectus, a rege deficiens cum aliquot sui ordinis nebulonibus transfuga, quicquid in regem potuit demolitus est. Verum conatus illius irritus: extrema eundem miseria mulctavit. Hujus autem factionis conspiratores plurimi tunc nominati sunt; quos viritim recensere perlongum esset. Petreyum autem quemdam Tornacensem ab Eduardo quondam Judæo, postea a rege Eduardo sacro

The malice of Margaret of Burgundy.

Perkin Warbeck is set up.

[1] *salve* in MS.

[2] *quia æterna est mulieris ira*]. These words are underlined in the original, and the word *Nota* added in the margin.

A.D. 1492. levato fonte, in hac regione educatum, regis Eduardi Quarti minorem filium effinxerunt; illumque per varias terras enutritum simulantes, tandem in Franciam consilio prædicti Fryon ad Karolum Octavum perduxerunt. Imo vero Galli, ut aiunt, illum magnis pollicitationibus, ut regem nostrum deterrerent, ex Hibernia acciverunt. Qui cum rem suam cum Gallis parum succedere cognovisset, Junone illum revocante, in Flandriam profectus est. Post in Hyberniam coronationis gratia prospero vento delatus, magnam barbarorum illius insulæ partem suis calidissimis subornavit tentationibus. Explicabat enim et ex prompta memoria repetebat omnia Eduardi Quarti tempora, omnesque illius familiares ac domesticos, uti fuerat instructus et a parvulo noverat, memoriter recitabat. Addebat præterea locorum, temporum, personarumque circumstantias, quibus illorum hominum levitati facillime persuadebat. Usque adeo res hæc tali velata figmento invaluit ut prudentes quoque ac magna nobilitate viri ad idem credendum inducerentur. Quid tum postea? Prophetiæ quædam de illo longe lateque falso a pseudoprophetis divulgabantur, quæ vulgares et populares animos prorsus excæcabant. Postremo dolis fraudibusque male consulentium effectum est ut e Flandria solvens in Angliam properaret; et eo potissimum tempore, quia rex in longinquis regni sui remotisque longe a Cantio partibus tunc occupatus erat. Quare paratis omnibus sumptu et impensa Junonis armata classis in Cantium dirigitur. Cujus præfecti * * * * * * * * [1] viri alioquin bello præstantes, se pelago fortunæque crediderunt. Cantiani vero superioribus castigati temporibus, formidolosi, primum dubitare, pars quid eis pro novissima conspiratione acciderat cogitare; Christum enim

He goes to Flanders, and thence to Ireland.

Tries to invade England.

[1] Blank in MS.

paulo ante cum apostolis in mundum rediisse, ut aiunt, effingentes ignaros agrestes seduxerant, condignasque factis pœnas luerant. Quas ob res post jam memoratæ classis appulsionem unanimiter regiis hostibus repugnare decreverunt. Consilio autem coacto, primum illos humaniter ad terram recipientes auxiliaria arma polliciti sunt. Navis autem Petreii, vento ut fertur adversante, seu, ut alii volunt, illo jam dolum suspicante, longe relicta fuit. Quæ cum alios jam captos audivisset fuga salutem comparavit. Illi vero, desperatis rebus ubi se delusos cognoverunt, primo de fide quæri, post confligere, sed ab N. * *[1] facile superati sunt. Et ad certum diem Londinum, restibus, ut fures, ordine vincti, præter vulneratos qui bigis ducebantur, magna omnium expectatione ingressi sunt. Et post aliquot dies alii capite plexi, alii laqueo vitam finierunt, numero pene quadringenti. Rex autem, qui visitandi regni gratia ab urbe, ut dixi, longe tunc aberat, Deo semper gratias agens, ubi illos captos audivit, talia placido reddidit ore :

A.D. 1492.

But fails.

Regis gratulatio.

The king's thanksgiving.

" Non sum nescius, misericordissime Jesu, quantas in hunc Saturni diem precibus tuæ piissimæ matris mihi victorias contulisti. Quasquidem omnes non meis meritis sed dono cœlestis gratiæ tuæ ascribo. Vides, benignissime Jesu, quot in me insidias, quot fraudes, quot tela paravit atrox illa Juno ; quæ tamen post nostrum connubium se lætabundam simulans, omni nos favore ac benevolentia prosecuturam bona fide promiserat. Sed vento mobilior omnia divina et humana pervertens, Deum non timet, sed in suum sanguinem

[1] Blank in MS.

A.D. 1492. infensa molitur exitium. Tu, Deus, qui omnia nosti, si meremur, ab his quoque malis nos libera; sin peccata nostra meruere pati, fac nobiscum in beneplacito tuo. Gratias nihilominus tuæ gratiæ debemus immortales; quas etsi lingua pro dignitate non possumus, habendi tamen bono semper sumus animo. Et ea quidem mente ut nulla unquam prosperitas, nulla adversitas, nulli casus, nulla diversitas locorum aut temporum, tui nos faciat esse immemores." His ita a modestissimo rege explicitis, quid in reliquum tempus agendum esset cum suo gravissimo consilio deliberat. Interim Pirquinus cum Junone sua spe sua frustratus varias in partes animum ad exequendum propositum applicat. Tandem multa versantibus commodissimum visum est, ut ab incepto victi non desisterent, sed malis mala superadderent; quare Juno sic exorsa est.

Oratio Junonis.

Margaret still encourages Perkin.

"Siccine quare, nepos, conatibus nostris fata repugnant? Siccine Henrici providentia nos semper eludet? O Britonum adversus progeniem nostram miranda potentia! Jam superioris ætatis inter illos et nos tot bella gesta meminisse juvat, quibus illi semper inferiores extitere. Nonne usque ad Cadvaladri tempora Saxonum invicta manus Britones cunctos perdomuit? Nonne Britannicus sanguis hoc uno Henrico nostram posteritatem jam subacturus est? Equidem si non melius nobis prospexerimus, Trojanus ille sanguis stirpi nostræ finem imponet. Quare sagaci mente quid contra faciendum sit investigemus. Ibis itaque, mi dilectissime nepos, ac regi Romanorum Maximiliano adversam fortunam nostram significabis, semper illud in animo et in pectore quod inter nos de fratris mei filio effictum est caute dissimulans. Addes præterea

jacturam fortunæ præfectorum quos illustrissimus filius ejus Philippus archidux tibi in auxilium dederat, ab eodem Henrico sine misericordia trucidatos. Propterea si te juvare voluerit, te spem maximam ostendes habere semel propositi nostri fore compotes, eidemque supremi cubicularii Henrici aliorumque litteras dominorum ad te proxime datas secreto significabis." A.D. 1492.

De conjuratione domini Guillielmi Stansle.

Hic locus hortari videtur ut serenissimi regis nostri tunc supremi cubicularii domini Guillermi Stansle conjurationem attingamus. Fuere sub idem tempus viri sane doctissimi religiosissimique cum prædicto cubiculario in conjuratione deprehensi. Inter quos quia excellenti sacrarum litterarum scientia præcellebat primum Sancti Dominici ordinis prædicatorii provincialem commemoro; egregium deinde doctorem theologum magistrum Sutum; præterea decanum Sancti Pauli Londini * * * * *.[1] et quosdam alios quorum nomina non occurrunt. Hi omnes pecunias ad Pirquinum vel dederant vel ab aliis datas clamculo miserant. Verum cubicularius, omnium ditissimus, magnos pecuniarum acervos possidebat, quibus illum et tutari et in regnum adducere promiserat. Sed quamvis ex illo præclaro sanguine Stansle editus erat, non debet tamen ejus culpa clarissimos sui generis offendere. Nam, ut inquit apostolus, "Figulus quædam fingit vasa ad honorem et quædam ad contumeliam, et ex eadem massa." Fides autem, constantia et veritas reliquorum illius generis illa A.D. 1495. Also Sir William Stanley and others.

[1] A blank here in the MS.

A.D. 1495–7.

tempestate luce clarius enituit; claretque indies eorum fidelissima sane erga regem nostrum observantia inconcussa. Sed ad illum redeamus. Postquam regia majestas tum litteris tum relatu strenui militis domini Roberti Clifort (qui etiam a rege defecerat et in Flandriam cum Pirquino aufugerat), primum, ut sapientiæ ipsius est mos, quæ de illo referebantur vera ne essent omnia prudentissime percontatus est, atque ubi sic se habere comperit ipsum cubicularium legibus suis puniendum commisit; sicque capite truncatus est. Viros autem illos quos supra memoravi ecclesiasticos propter ecclesiæ dignitatem vita donatos dimisit. Post aliquot vero dies supremum indixit consilium; quo quidem tempore Pirquinus, Tornacensis oriundus, Maximiliano et aliis adjutoribus in Hiberniam delatus, idem facere consultus est. Celebrato tandem consilio * * * * *[1] qui illum gubernabant optimum factu visum est ut in Scotiam formidine pœnæ diverteret. Coacta igitur classe in Scotiam venit, ibidemque a rege Scotorum humanissime susceptus est. Postremo rex errore deceptus, ut plerique alii etiam prudentissimi antea principes, quia ille diffidere de Scotis videbatur, eodem hoc postulante, de uxore sibi matrimonio copulanda curavit. Dataque est illi egregiis orta natalibus regique illi consanguinitate propinquis parentibus illustris domina [Katherina Gordon[2]] præclaris dotata moribus: peractaque conjugii celebritate cum suis liberis jam Scotorum auxilio fretus iterum Angliam petere tentavit; delatusque per occiduas insulæ oras tandem in Cornubiam venit. Illi vero incolæ falsis illius suggestionibus decepti regis Eduardi Quarti natu minorem filium crediderunt, illique tenaciter adheserunt.

Stanley is beheaded.

Perkin goes to Scotland;

Invades Cornwall;

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[1] A blank here in the MS.

[2] A blank in the MS. for the name.

A.D. 1497.

De secunda Pirquini invasione.

Serenissimus rex noster audito nebulonis adventu subridens, "Et ecce iterum ab isto nebulonum principe tentamur," ait. "Ite, igitur; et ne meorum per ignorantiam subditorum strages aliqua accidat, Pirquinum blandis experiamur habere modis." Cornubii autem unacum papilione suo Exoniæ[1] portis ferro ignibusque insultabant; comes autem Davoniæ pro viribus resistebat. Rex vero copias miserat, ut non in nebulonem pugnarent, sed ut patriam populumque a malis defenderent. Reliqua hujus invasionis quia memoria non teneo, donec pleniore hujus rei scientia instruar, campo hic quoque relicto supersedeo.[2]

Besieges Exeter;

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* * * * * *

Pirquini deditio.

Rebus itaque suis jam diffidens ganeo ille prædictus, videnque [sc[3]] regis nostri potentiæ refragari non posse, neque regiis elabi manibus, animo imbelli effeminatoque totus tremore correptus ac viribus destitutus, ita suos alloquitur:

Despairs;

Pirquini vecordia.

"Videtis, commilitones mei, Dei maximi potentiam nostris contra stare conatibus. Videtis Henrici regum

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[1] *Oxoniæ*, MS., but corrected in a different hand.

[2] About half a page is left blank after these words.

[3] Not in MS.

A.D. 1497. victoriosissimi virtutem et gratiam cum Dei voluntate ita conjunctam, ut adversus illum omnes vires nostræ cassæ prorsus ac nullæ debilitentur et concidant. Videtis præterea rerum omnium egestatem atque inopiam nostram, et, ut verius dicam, miseriam. Namque, ut vobis nunc verum fatear, quamvis in hunc diem stipendia vobis dare distulerim, profecto nihil mihi relictum est, nec nummus quidem; atque haud scio unde habeam aut quid de me faciam. Ita me formido et conscientiæ timor expugnant; quippe ut aperta veritatis luce consilium meum quod hactenus vos celavi aperiam. Certe quem me vobis esse dixeram Eduardi filius non sum, neque tali tantaque prosapia dignus. Et quicquid olim signorum aut temporum vobis callidus retuli; totum illud quum parvulus Eduardi quondam Judæi ac antememorati regis Eduardi filioli in Anglia servulus eram, memoriter retinui: erat enim ille patronus meus regi Eduardo ac suis liberis familiarissimus. Quare jam mihi parcite, quæso, et pro vita vestra viriliter agite. Ego enim quo me vertam quove fugiam nescio. Tamen utcunque erit mansuetissimo regi priusquam peream dedere me certum est." His in hunc modum ignavia atque socordia cum lachrymis ad suos expositis in Belli Loci[1] sanctuarium misellus effugiens se recepit. Postea vero a pientissimo rege vitæ veniam postulavit, qua illum rex quoque donavit clementissimus.

Confesses his imposture;

And flies to sanctuary.

Tremebundus adducitur, joculariterque ab ipsis regiis servitoribus sugillatus exsibilatusque ridiculum caput miris modis objurgatus est. Interea jussu regio uxor ejus nobilis, quæ apud Divi Michaelis montem relicta fuerat, honorifice propter ejus nobilitatem adducta est. Qualia vero modestissimus rex noster illi primitus indignissimo gerrioni verba fecerit narrare mihi est

[1] Beaulieu in Hampshire.

perdifficile, quandoquidem singulari ea colloquio gesta fuere; tum quia ingenioli mei parvitas tot sapientissimi regis non capit prudentissimas rationes. Verum hoc unum scio, ipsum regem tantis per illum illustrium virorum mortibus illatis maxime condoluisse. Ille videns regis benignitatem suæ jam vitæ securus, audacter totius vitæ atque audaciæ tenorem ac seriem explicavit, tam postea ut in publicum ad improborum terrorem exiret, litterarum monumentis rex imprimi demandavit.[1] Post deinde conjunx illius modesto venustoque vultu egregia forma atque ætate integra in regium conspectum magno cum rubore et abortis lacrymis producta est. Cui rex benignissimus humanissimo sic protulit ore: A.D. 1497.

His confession is printed.

Regis ad illam oratio.

"Doleo equidem, illustris domina, et mecum ægerrime fero, post tot meorum subditorum cladem vos a tali homuncione fuisse delusam. Nam sanguinis vestri nobilitas, morum ac totius corporis præstantia, forma, et dignitas, alium longe præstantiorem virum expostulabant. Sed quia Deo ita placuit ut perfidia et improbitate istius nebulonis ad hunc miserum statum perveniretis æquo vos animo perferre ac pati oportet; cæterum quia tempus hoc pluribus non indiget, vos equidem hortor et moneo ut casum vestrum æquanimiter toleretis. Polliceor autem hoc regia fide præstantiæ vestræ quod postquam Deo volente huc accessistis, non aliter quam propriam sororem me vos pertracturum; utque honestius posthac securiusque maneatis, ad serenissimam regiam conjugem meam carissimam vos cum honore ac bonis comitibus mittere

The king consoles Perkin's wife.

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[1] *Pirquini vita imprimitur.* MS., margin.

A.D. 1497. decrevimus. Hunc autem maritum vestrum nobiscum adhuc, certas ob causas ab eodem intelligendas, retinebimus." His dictis illam lacrymarum fonte madentem, quia semper humi genibus se prostrabat, stare rex jussit, maritumque suum sibi quæ regi dixerat eadem referre præcepit. Ille partim timore partim verecundia aliquandiu hæsitans, tandem non illum quem se esse dixerat aperte fateri, veniam orare, sibi male fuisse consultum, dolere propter illius abductionem, regem ipsum orare ut illam ad suos remitteret. Quæ postquam explevit omnia ipsa ejulatu sublato gemebunda in hæc verba prorupit:

Illius uxoris responsio.

She reproaches her husband.

"Postquam me, O perfidissime hominum, tuis falsis narrationibus seducere volebas, quare me a patriis laribus, domo, parentibus et amicis in hostiles manus abduxisti? O me miseram! Quantos hic dies luctus, quantasve clarissimis parentibus meis solicitudines dabit! O utinam ad oras nunquam advenisses nostras! Me miseram! Quid jam amplius nisi mortem perdita pudicitia expectam non video. Hei mihi! Cur non habeo ex parentibus meis hic aliquem qui de te supplicium sumeret? Scelestissime, hæccine sunt illa quæ nobis sceptra promittebas? Sceleratissime, hiccine est ille regius honos quo genus nostrum decoratum iri jactabas? Equidem hic ignota egens atque inops, quid sperem? in quo confidam? de quo dolorem meum leniam? Aliud videtur prorsus nihil nisi quod rex iste potentissimus clementissimusque se me non deserturum[1] promisit. Cujus ego regiæ promissioni omnem fidem, spem, ac salutem meam reposui. Plura dicerem, sed verba vis doloris ac lachrymarum reprimit." Post

[1] *deserturam*, MS.

hæc sapientissimus rex utrique, illi ad culpam, huic in consultationem, pro sua singulari prudentia verba faciens, ad reginam, ut constituerat, illam destinavit. Quæ paulum remorata virum propter conjugalem in Christo fidem ægriuscule reliquit. Hujus autem ductores fuere N * * * *[1] viri sane et fide et probitate præstantes. Regina vero tunc apud Richemondiam audiendi de regiis successibus cupiens molestissime residebat. Acta sunt autem hæc * * * * *[1] quo quidem tempore Oxoniæ[2] rex in illos qui conspiraverant animadvertens cunctos ad se duci jussit; quos ex alto sic allocutus est:

A.D. 1497. Henry sends her to his queen.

Regis ad Cornubios oratio.

"Gravi ac molesto gerimus animo, viri Cornubienses, nequitiæ et improbitatis vestræ contra nos injuriam: quamquidem, teste Deo, inviti ad puniendum hodie processimus. Sed quia legibus nostris parere compellimur, ad malorum formidinem et bonorum exemplum, vos qui tam faciles ad malum animos habuistis, quique sine ullo aut Dei aut nostro timore homini levissimo auxiliaria arma dedistis, neque cujusquam a nobis destinati admonitione cessastis, dignas meritis vestris pœnas rependere justum est. Residuos vero, qui partim errore, partim vestra in nos suggestione deliquerunt vita donamus." His breviter ab ipso rege pronunciatis omnes ferme qui circiter * * * * * * *[3] vita donati fuerant, inter se vincti clamore cum gemitu sublato, regi maximas gratias agitabant.

The Cornishmen pardoned, except the leaders.

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[1] A blank left for the names.
[2] An error for "Exoniæ."
[3] Blank in MS.

BERNARDI ANDREÆ THOLOSATIS

ANNALES HENRICI SEPTIMI.

A.D. 1504-5. regiam vitam tuam præclarius illustrabunt. Ego vero affectioni potius tuæ sane benignitati haud incognitæ quam historiæ narrationi quotannis inservio, serviamque dum spiritus hos reget artus. Interea vive, valeque serenissime princeps, sene longævior Pylio.

ANNUS VICESIMUS.

Justa monetæ reformatio.

A.D. 1504-5.

Henry's measures touching the coinage.

Quanta solicitudine, vigilantia, et cura, regia majestas tua vicesimo regni tui anno pro legali moneta florentissimi regni tui, tam antiqua quam nova, tam bona quam mala, affecta fuerit, innumerosæ regionis tuæ gentes cognoscunt: imo vero finitimi diversarum gentium populi longe lateque prædicatum id aŭdire gavisi sunt. Prætereo tot reges et principes qui tuis quotidie[1] rebus gestis, admirationis, laudis, et gloriæ, ante oculos exempla vident. Quibus, in respublicas quis præsident, consiliis auxiliisque destitutas esse patientur, ni ad res bene gerendas excitentur inglorios minores et posteri eosdem non injuria æstimabunt.[2] Nam pecuniæ diminutio aut adulterina impressio sive non recta percussio propria mentis vi et ingenii acie soli tibi explorata fuit; et quia antea crimen læsæ majestatis capitale fuerat, ipse absque gladio, absque nece cujusquam, tua sapientia mirabiliter reformasti. Hujus itaque primi facinoris egregii gratia ad scribendum impellor. Quid enim hac tua circumspectione prudentius, quid præstantius, quid admirabilius dici excogitarive potest non facile quis dixerit? Tui quippe utilitatis, valetudinis, diuturnitatisque vitæ oblitus, omnia quæ ad populi

[1] *cotiquie*, MS.

[2] The construction of this sentence appears confused, but the sense is sufficiently clear. It is here printed just as it stands in the MS.

A.D. 1504-5.

tui commoditatem, amplitudinem et augmentum spectare prospexisti, curasti, meministi, effecisti, et quidem impigre. Legimus quosdam principes bello præstantes, eosdem tamen in pacis artibus defecisse; aliis quibusdam acritatem ingenii, aliis prudentiam, aliis eloquentiam defuisse: tibi autem uni mirabili felicique concursu cuncta quæ laudari merentur ita conveniunt, ut ipsa inter sese[1] de dignitate certasse videantur. Idem in bello fortissimus, idem in pace clementissimus; nec facile quis dixerit utrum in bello potentior aut in pace benignior. Sed de hoc hactenus; quandoquidem hujus monetæ tractatio ejusque legis auctio et detrimentum sive diminutio in acta publica relata magis re ipsa quam verbis patet. Quare ad reliquarum rerum memorandarum seriem jam transeamus.

Reverendissimi domini, domini Georgii de Ambasia Cardinalis Rothomagensis munus eximium.

A relic of St. George the Martyr sent to Henry VII.

Quid huic pecuniæ reformationi memoratu dignius adjungam quam munus illud egregium præstantissimi ac generosissimi domini, domini Georgii de Ambasia cardinalis Rothomagensis, quale nunquam ullis retro Angliæ regibus collatum extitit. Is[2] enim anno serenissimi regis nostri regni vicesimo paulo ante memorato inclyti martyris divi Georgii alterum ex cruribus, preciosissimum siquidem sui corporis reliquiarum donum, summa cum veneratione ad Christianissimum regem nostrum destinavit. Quod quidem amplissimum (ut ita loquar) jocale quanta cum reverentia atque devotione rex noster acceperit testis est tota Anglia: nimirum cui potius quam huic regi legatus ille tam sanctam reliquiam mitteret non invenio; nam et sancti-

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[1] *intercesse*, MS. [2] *His*, MS.

monia vitæ et morum integritate omnium una eademque sententia reliquis præstat regibus. A.D. 1504-5.

Emanuel Lusitaniæ Rex quid.

Accedit huic quoque gloriæ altera præstantissima laus, potentissimi Lusitaniæ regis Emanuelis antehac inaudita mansuetudo, singularis humanitas, incredibilis et pene divina erga benignissimum regem nostrum humilitas; qui cum reliquos ætatis nostræ principes mente animoque penetrasset, et singulorum virtutes, laudes, præconia, secum memoria revocasset, nullus tandem ei in hoc orbe visus est Henrico Septimo rege nostro faustissimo comparandus. Is enim et animi et corporis ac rerum externarum amplissima laude et gloria pollens est. Quare ad hunc dignissimam legationem anno præscripto mittens, eum summa cum humilitate rogavit, ut quoniam illi virtute parem sapientiaque videbat neminem, dignaretur sua regia benignitas et clementia se antememoratum regem in filium accipere. Et quia idem rex in ecclesiæ hostes bella movere indies non cessat, nostro victoriosissimo regi humiliter supplicavit quatenus bellis summam penes[1] se reciperet; quo quidem ductore atque imperatore Christiani exercitus credit fore ut brevi tot infidelium manus fidei nostræ colla subjicient. Embassy from Emmanuel king of Portugal.

Flandriæ commeatus.

Quid dicam de commeatu illo Flandriæ sapienti consilio intermisso, cujus rei gratia semel et jam secundo nobilis ad regem nostrum legatio venit? Commercial intercourse with Flanders.

[1] *pene*, MS.

A.D. 1504-5. Quanta prudentia, quanta sagacitate, quantove consilio suæ reipublicæ prudentissimus rex noster prospexit! Quod nulli antea hujus regni principes præstare potuerunt, quominus nundinæ apud illos in suos usus quotannis observarentur, hic unus rex effecit, ut Calisii forum ejusmodi non suis tantum sed cunctis nationibus pateret. O immensam tanti regis prudentiam! O eximiam in subditos benevolentiam! O maximam denique in omnes exteras gentes mansuetudinem; qui tot commoda, tot libertates, tantaque præsidia, suopte ingenio comparavit! Enimvero illustrissimi regis Castellæ Philippi pace ac venia dixerim tot retro imperatores, tot duces, tot principes, suis populis nunquam talia procurarunt. Nec Marcellos, nec Curiones, nec Fabios, nec Cæsares, nec Alexandros, quamvis multa pro suis gesserint, huic nostro conferam. Hic enim solus regni sui, solis pacis artibus, sine gladio sive sanguine, tanta emolumenta paravit, ut merito pater patriæ a cunctis ac rex pacificus totum per orbem nominetur.

Regia legatio.

Embassy to Pope Julius II. Hoc in loco, sic enim ordo rerum expostulat, egregiam legationem quam rex noster ad Julium Secundum Romanum pontificem misit, subtexere consilium fuit. Hujus autem princeps legationis extitit reverendus abbas Glastoniensis; ejus autem collegæ fuere magister Robertus Cherbonne, tunc divi Pauli decanus, nunc vero Menevensis episcopus, litteris et humanitate præclarus (qui summa cum omnium laude coram Romano pontifice orationem ut fertur habuit elegantissimam), et strenuissimus miles auratus dominus Gilbertus Talebot. Et hic, dum summus pontifex sacrum de more faceret, ditissimum illius amictum tegmenque ornatissimum cunctis coram populis honorifice bajulavit; quæ res non

nisi a maximo principe fieri consuevit. Et hi tres novello tunc pontifici Romano ex parte regis gratulatum accesserant. Quos prædictus pontifex magna cum humanitate recepit, jussitque eos maximis honoribus et amplissimis omnifariæ opulentiæ conviviis festivari. Qui cum aliquot diebus per sacrosancta loca clara comitante caterva deambulassent, cumulatissimis donatos muneribus et gratiis summus eosdem pontifex humanissime dimisit. Illi vero ad patrios læti penates honorificentissime reversi sunt. A.D. 1504-5.

Romanorum dona pontificum.

Pia in Deum caritas et in sanctam ecclesiam devotio, virtutis amor et honoris Dei zelatio, pietas in pauperes, compassio erga hospites et externos, omnium denique piorum operum religio et Dei cultus modestissimi ejusdemque sapientissimi regis nostri Henrici Septimi, fecerunt ut a sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ supremis pontificibus, Innocentio videlicet Octavo et Alexandro [Sexto][1], tum demum Julio Secundo clarissimis opulentissimisque Christianæ fidei insigniis, pileo videlicet et gladio nostræ religionis in protectionem tuitionemque totius ecclesiæ militantis idem rex donaretur. Neque id injuria; nam cum plerosque alios principes bonos ac veros Dei cultores ecclesia nostra habeat qui alioquin integritate vitæ et morum probitate refulgent, nullum tamen ex illis præmiatos muneribus audivimus. Et quis est, quæso, qui a vitæ suæ primordio et per reliquas deinceps ætates tam celebri fama, tanta virtutum gloria, tantoque rerum omnium successu ut hic rex noster efulserit? Profecto quosdem historiæ me- Papal gifts to Henry VII.

[1] Blank in MS.

A.D. 1504-5. morant superioribus sæculis ab uno duntaxat pontifice tali semel tantum munere decoratos; at nostrum hunc trinus pileus ternusque fidei gladius jam nunc exornat. Prætereo celeberrimos et eosdem prudentissimos horum insigniorum gestores legatosque dignissimos; quos omnes mea quidem sententia, censu, sanguine, gratia, decore, virtute, probitate, fide, reverendus in Christo pater et dominus, Dominus Silvester de Liliis divina regiaque volente gratia Vigorniensis episcopus exsuperat. Qui beatissimi Christi Genitricis natali salutifero apud Richemondiam, quanta illustrium procerum circumcurrentiumque ad tam rarum et prius invisum spectaculum frequentia populorum, quantave cœlestis ordinis atque militiæ argutissimorum virorum modulandi peritia, canore suavissimo in occursum illi perinde ac[1] Salvatori nostro Hebræorum populorum hinc inde properantium, verbis explicari non potest. Postremo ubi tot nobilium gloriosa cohors psallentibus organis in regium pervenit sacellum, adfuit inibi pientissimus rex noster aureo residens solio, tota heroum stipante caterva. Ad cujus splendidissimam majestatem auro gemmisque fulgentem, idem pontifex bysso ostro auroque conspicuus luculentissimam ornatissimamque orationem facundissimo placidissimoque pectore dixit. Postubi Romani pontificis mandata insigniaque protulit eximia Christianissimus rex modestissimo gratias illi devotas ore retulit. Tunc modulatissimis angelicisque vocibus Deo laude gratulationeque reddita idem episcopus singulari modestia piaque devotione rem divinam exorsus est. Posthæc concione ad populum super tantorum insignium dignitate atque præstantia non minus divine quam eleganter pronunciata absolutis sacris solennibus rex ingenti comitatus primatum procerumque turma ad regales dapes incessit.

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[1] *hac*, MS.

Taceo lautissimi illius convivii opiparum undique apparatum in quo regis Castellæ oratores qui huic splendidæ pompæ interfuerunt largiflue ac festivissime excepti sunt. Non repetam serenissimæ principis dominæ Elisabet, illustrissimæ quoque regiæ filiæ Mariæ illo die mundum ac ornatum inenarrabilem tum cæterarum illustrium cultus opulentissimos dominarum. Quid multa? Tanta enim illius diei amplitudo et dignitas fuit ut vix credam quemquam vel disertissimum verbis executurum. A.D. 1504-5.

Hunc itaque Deo carum principem et a Deo missum divinis decorandum honoribus ideo pontifex Romanus excogitavit, quia jampridem totum per orbem illius famam volitare audierat. Nam si prudentia, primo honestatis fonte, quempiam superiorum regum excelluisse noverimus, illum Henrico regi si conferas, inter politicas virtutes altiorem illo nostrum invenies; si justitiæ æquitate alium præstasse, offenderis æquitatis decus; illi Henricus omni[1] sua bonitate præferens antecedet. Si vero fortitudinis laude alius quivis[2] præstiterit, illum ipsum sua magnanimitate mentisque robore insuperabili præteribit. Si postremo temperantiæ modestiæque titulis se quisquam regum anteire aliis putaverit, quonam limite ad tantæ virtutis arcem perveniet nisi illi aditum rex noster aperiat? Sane si virtutum omnium effigiem vivam clara luce speculari atque intro aspicere voluerit, in hunc mentis oculos tota animi intentione figat, videbitque regem omnium virtutum splendore mirabilem. Tot igitur tantasque animæ et corporis dotes, gratias, nitores atque [virtutes[3]] Christianæ reipublicæ rector in uno principe contemplans, tali ac tanto laudum cumulo prædictum regem

[1] *omne*, MS.

[2] *cuivis*, MS.

[3] A word omitted in the MS., and supplied in accordance with the sense of the passage.

A.D. 1504-5.

non tam humanis quam divinis favoribus voluit illustrare. Et de hac re satis; nam totus eum mundus tanquam alterum Octavium, pacis amatorem, regum omnium tutorem ac defensorem una eademque voce appellat, ut merito prima corona regum qui jam aliis erunt in annis sine controversia rex pacificus nominari debeat.

Pacis conservator quis.

Possem multa quidem alia memoria digna in hoc profunctorio orationis cursu præscripto acta in anno repetere. Sed, ut ante memoravi, instructionis mihi non fuit copia. Addo propter pestiferam tabem ab urbe meam aliquandiu absentiam. Quamobrem ad omnium rerum luculentam notitiam pervenire non potui. Sed novissimo huic loco spero equidem me tantam tamque insignem rem gestam astruere quæ gravissimorum hominum judicio instar omnium erit. Dicturus enim sum de illo concordi fœdere duorum magnanimorum regum, Christianissimi, videlicet, Ludovici regis Duodecimi Franciæ, et Ferdinandi Hispaniæ regis potentissimi; de amicitia, inquam, provida[1] sapientia regis nostri stabilita, qui nisi officiosas inter illos partes egisset, dubio procul in belli furias longe crudelissimas uterque incidisset. Verum prudentissimus rex, cruentas hominum cædes detestans, tot antea clades non multis ante annis tam Neapoli quam Saulcis[2] perpetratas miseratus, in viam pacis et concordiæ, non sine magna difficultate, illos reduxit, usque adeo ut Salomon ille pacis conservator, tutor, atque protector, ab his jam memoratis regibus sæpe rogatus nuncupetur. Nec alio

Henry VII.'s mediation between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand of Spain.

[1] *provali*, MS.

[2] Salcès near Perpignan, a fortress then belonging to Spain, besieged by the French in 1503.

id pacto fieri poterat quo pax fidissima indissolubilisque firmaretur. Et vix in hunc diem se cohibere neuter a bello posset ni rex noster tamquam nervus ac vinculum illorum animos frænaret, molliret, leniret ac mitigaret. Quo fit ut furibundus ille Gradivus ore cruento fremens, regis hujus velut alterius cujusdam jam manibus, vinctus ligatusque sit. A.D. 1504-5.

Sed fortasse diceres, unde hoc tanti officii pacis tractare mansuetissimus rex potuit? Nimirum discordiæ adversaria amicitia, qua sine tum divina tum humana corruant omnia necesse est. Atque ut de illa aliquid ex sanctis auctoribus et præcipue divi Ambrosii Officiorum Tertio Volumine sumpta dicamus, hic pauca de multis inserimus, unde benevolentissimi pacis cultores sicut ex fonte veri amoris haurire documenta valebunt.

St. Ambrose on friendship.

"Probatissima, igitur, amicitia est quæ honestatem tuetur, præferenda sane opibus, honoribus, potestatibus; honestati vero præferri non solet, sed honestatem sequi. Qualis fuit Jonathæ, qui pro pietate nec offensam patris nec salutis periculum refugiebat. Qualis fuit Abimelech, qui pro hospitalis gratiæ officiis necem potius sui quam proditionem fugientis amici subeundam arbitrabatur. Nihil igitur præferandum honestati. Quæ tamen ne amicitiæ studio prætereatur etiam hæc scriptura admonet. De amicitia sunt enim pleræque philosophorum quæstiones, utrum amici causa quisquam contra patriam sentire nec ne debeat? ut amico obediat, utrum oporteat ut fidem deserat dum indulget atquè intendit amici commoditatibus? Et scriptura quidem ait 'Clava et gladius et sagitta ferrata, sic homo est testimonium dans falsum adversus amicum suum.' Sed considera quid astruat. Non testimonium reprehendit dictum in amicum, sed falsum testimonium. Quid enim si Dei causa, quid si patriæ cogatur aliquis dicere testimonium? Nunquid præponderare debet amicitia religioni, præponderare civium charitati? In his

A.D. 1504-5.

tamen ipsis requiranda est veritas testimonii, ne amicus appetatur amici perfidia cujus fide absolvi debeat.

"Amicus itaque neque [noxio gratificari debet, neque][1] innocenti insidiari. Sane si necesse sit dicere testimonium, si quid in amico vitii cognoverit corripere occultiter, si non audierit, corripere palam. Sunt enim bonæ corruptiones, et plerumque meliores quam tacita amicitia. Et si lædi se putet amicus, tu tamen corripe: ne verearis; 'Tolerabiliora sunt enim amici vulnera quam adulantium oscula.' Errantem igitur amicum corripe, innocentem amicum ne deseras. Constans enim debet esse amicitia; perseverare in affectu, non puerili modo amicos mutare, vaga quadam debemus sententia. 'Aperi pectus tuum amico ut fidelis sit tibi, et capias ex eo vitæ tuæ jocunditatem.' Fidelis enim amicus medicamentum est vitæ, immortalitatis est gratia.

"Defer amico ut æquali, nec te pudeat ut prævenias amicum officio; amicitia enim nescit superbiam. Ideo enim Sapiens dixit, 'Amicum salutare non erubescas.' Nec deseras amicum in necessitate, nec derelinquas eum, neque destituas; quoniam amicitia vitæ adjumentum est. Ideo ejus onera ut nostra portemus, sicut Apostolus docuit; dicit enim his quos ejusdem corporis complexa est charitas. Etenim si amici secundæ res amicos adjuvant, cur non et in adversis amici rebus amicorum adjumentum suppetat? Juvemus consilio, conferamus[2] studia, compatiamur affectu. Si necesse est, toleremus propter amicum etiam aspera. Plerumque inimicitiæ subeundæ sunt propter amici ignorantiam,[3] sæpe obtrectationes, si restiteris et responderis cum amicus arguitur et accusatur. Nec te pœniteat hujusmodi offensionis; justi enim vox est, 'Et si mala mihi evenerint propter amicum sustineo.' In adversis enim amicus probatur;

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[1] These words are omitted in the MS., and are here supplied from St. Ambrose.

[2] *referamus*, MS.

[3] *innocentiam*, St. Ambrose.

nam in prosperis amici omnes videntur. Sed ut [in] adversis amici patientia et tolerantia necessaria est, sic in prosperis auctoritas congrua est ut insolentiam extollentis se amici reprimat et redarguat. Quam pulchre in adversis positus Job dixit, 'Miseremini mei, amici, miseremini.' Non quasi abjecta vox, vox ista est, sed quasi censoria. Nam cum injuste arguitur ab amicis respondet, 'Miseremini mei, amici;' hoc est, qui misericordiam debetis facere. Opprimitis autem vos et impugnatis hominem cujus ærumnis compati pro amicitia vos oportebat. A.D. 1504-5.

"Dominus ipse cum a tribus regibus offensus esset qui sancto Job non detulissent, ignoscere his per amicum maluit, ut amicitiæ suffragium remissio fieret[1] peccatorum. Itaque rogavit Job et Dominus ignovit. Profuit illis amicitia quibus obfuit insolentia.

"Hic [est] amicitiæ fructus non ut fides propter amicitiam deseratur. Non potest[2] enim homini amicus esse qui Deo fuerit infidus. Pietatis custos amicitia est et æqualitas magistra ut superior inferiori se exhibeat æqualem, inferior superiori: inter dispares enim mores non potest esse amicitia. Quid est enim amicitia nisi consors amoris ad quem animum tuum adjungas atque applices, et ita misceas ut unum velis fieri ex duobus; cui te tanquam alteri sibi committas; a quo nihil timeas, nihil ipse commodi tui causa inhonestum petas? Non enim vectigalis amicitia est, sed plena decoris, plena gratiæ. Virtus est enim amicitia, non quæstus; quia non pecunia paratur, sed gratia; nec licitatione pretiorum sed concertatione benevolentiæ.

"Denique meliores amicitiæ sunt inopum plerumque quam divitum; et frequenter divites sine amicis sunt, quibus abundant pauperes. Non est enim vera amicitia ubi est fallax adulatio. Divitibus itaque plerique

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[1] *fieret* in MS. [2] *propter* in MS.

A.D. 1504-5. assentatorie gratificantur; erga pauperem nemo simulator est. Verum est, quicquid deferatur pauperi hujus amicitia invidia vacat.

"Quid amicitia pretiosius, quæ angelis communisque hominibus est? Unde Dominus Jesus dicit, 'Facite vobis amicos de iniquo mammona, qui recipiant vos in æterna tabernacula sua.' Ipse nos Deus amicos ex servulis facit, sicut ipse ait, 'Jam vos amici mei estis si feceritis quæ ego præcipio vobis.' Dedit formam amicitiæ quam sequamur.[1] 'Ideo,' inquit, 'vos dixi amicos; omnia quæcunque audivi a Patre meo nota feci vobis.' Nihil ergo occultat amicus, si verus est; effundit animum suum, sicut effundebat mysteria Patris Dominus Jesus.

"Ergo qui facit mandatum Dei amicus est [et] hoc honoratur nomine. Qui est unanimis, ipse amicus est; quia unitas animorum in amicis sit; [neque] quisquam detestabilior quam qui amicitiam læserit: unde in proditorem Dominus hoc gravissimum invenit quo ejus condemnaret perfidiam, quod gratiæ vicem non repræsentaverit et conviviis amicitiæ venenum malitiæ miscuerit. Itaque sic ait: 'Tu vero homo unanimus meus et dux meus et notus meus qui semper mecum dulces capiebas cibos!' Hoc est, non potest sustineri istud quia unanimus impetisti eum qui tibi donaverat gratiam. 'Nam si inimicus meus maledixisset mihi sustinuissem utique; et ab eo qui me oderat abscondeam me.' Inimicus vitari potest, amicus non potest, si insidiari velit. Illum cavemus cui non committimus consilia nostra: hunc cavere non possumus cui commisimus. Itaque ad acervandam[2] peccati invidiam non dixit, 'Tu vero servus meus, apostolus meus,' sed 'unanimus meus,' hoc est, non meus sed etiam tuus proditor es quia unanimum prodidisti."

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[1] *sequimur*, MS. [2] *cernendam*, MS.

A.D. 1504-5.

Si velint igitur tales perfidos abjicere, principes fideles habeant familiares opus est. Fideles autem justi sunt. "Fundamentum ergo est justitiæ fides; justorum enim corda meditantur fidem. Et qui [se] justus accusat, justitiam supra fidem collocat. Nam tunc justitia ejus apparet si vera fateatur. Denique Dominus per Isaiam, 'Ecce,' inquit, 'mitto lapidem in fundamentum Syon,' id est, Christum in fundamentum ecclesiæ. Fides enim omnium Christus. Ecclesia quædam justitiæ forma est, commune jus omnium. In commune orat, in commune operatur, in commune tentatur." Illa vero pacem amat; unde rogate quæ ad pacem sunt. Pax autem et concordia, unitas inter homines super omnia alia opera Deo placet; in cujus signum omnia animalia præter hominem fecit duplicia, id est, marem et fœminam, hominem vero unum ut bonum unitatis pacis et concordiæ commendaret (*Genesis i°*). Quamvis David esset sanctus, noluit tamen Deus ut ædificaret ei domum, quia fuit David bellicosus; sed Salomon, qui interpretatur Pacificus, ut ostenderet pacificorum sola accepta sacrificia reputari, templum Deo construxit (*Secundo Regum, iv°, v°, vi°*). "Deus corda diligit pacifica, et in eis habitat." In cujus rei figuram ostensum est Helyæ quod Dominus non erat in commotione, nec in grandi vento alias grandineto, sed in sibilo aëris tenui, id est, in loco pacifico. (*Tertii Regum, xix°.*) Quod autem Deus pacem diligat vel ex hoc patet quia in ejus nativitate angeli pacem nuntiaverunt (*Lucæ ii°*); et pacem præcepit discipulis inter se habere (*Matthæ ix°*); pacem apostolis præcepit prædicare (*Lucæ x°*); pacem pro testamento reliquit, dicens, 'Pacem meam do vobis, pacem relinquo vobis' (*Johannis xiv°*). Denique post resurrectionem suam discipulis suis nunciavit pacem, dicens, 'Pax vobis,' (*Lucæ xxiv° et Johannis xx°*).

Hanc itaque pacem rex noster servavit. Nec mirum. Primus enim officii fons prudentia est. Quid enim tam plenum officii uam deferre auctori studium atque

A.D. 1504-5. reverentiam? Qui tamen fons et in virtutes derivatur cæteras; neque enim potest justitia sine prudentia esse, cum examinare quid justum, quidve injustum, quid pax, quid bellum, sit non mediocris prudentiæ. Summus in utroque error; enim qui bellum paci præfert injustus, qui vero pacem bello anteponit, justus est. Pacis enim amor Deus est, quem supplex oro ut pacificum Salomonem nostrum diu in terris incolumem custodiat et post hujus vitæ cursum ad se Deum pacis et dilectionis vocatum cum sanctis in cœlo coronet. Amen.

LAUD[ETUR] DEUS.

ANNUS VICESIMUS TERTIUS.

A la bonne grace du Roy.

A celluy qui est tout mon confort
Et apres Dieu seulle esperance
Je doiz avoir ma confidence
Et mon espoir jusquez a la mort.

Mon trescher sire, puisque n'ay nul en court
Qui envers vous face ma remonstrance
A celluy,

Ma hardiesse pource vers vous accourt,
En suppliant que aiez souvenance
En secourant à ma povre indigence
Et pardonner car j'ay tout mon . . . . . .[1]
A celluy.

Rex pacificus exaltatus est [super][1] omnes Reges universæ te[rræ].[1]

Chançon faicte en l'honneur de Madame Marie.

Reveillez vous cueurs endormis
Qui des Angloiz estes amys,
Chantons *Ave Maria.*

La Thoison d'Or et le pourpris
Des chasteaulx, aigles, et des litz
Joyra dame Maria.
Reveillez vous, &c.

Paper gone in these places of the MS.

Marie fille du vray litz.
Henry Septiesme Roi de pris
Prince sur tous les princes.
Reveillez vous, &c.

Delyvrera de grans enmys,
Tout Flandres de ses ennemys,
Remontant les eglises.
Reveillez vous, &c.

[Re]joissez vous je vous diz
[Chant]ez Bourguynons tous uniz
[À ce] hault [mariage].
[*Reveillez*] *vous*, [*&c.*] [1]

Car dicy a mille foiz dix
Ne fera ny fut au pais
Tel paix, tel lignaige.
Reveillez vous, &c.

Nous pryerons, grans et petis,
Que les roys soient tous bons amys,
Et paix par tout le monde.
Reveillez vous, &c.

Et que en la fin en paradis
Noel chantons tous resjouyz
De voix et de cueur monde.
Reveillez vous, &c.

Septimus Henricus Rex noster vivat in . . . . . .

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[1] The portions of this stanza here printed within brackets are now lost by the wearing away of the MS. They are supplied from Ellis' Letters, First Series, vol. i., p. 120., where this poem has been already printed. At the date of that publication (1824) the text appears to have been entire.

AD INVICTISSIMUM SAPIENTISSIMUMQUE REGUM HENRICUM SEPTIMUM IN VICESIMUM TERTIUM FELICISSIMI REGNI SUI ANNALEM BERNARDI ANDREÆ THOLOSATIS PRÆFATIO.

NON cessat mea tecum nec cessabit dum vivo observantia ; non silebit affectio neque tacebit tuæ majestati mea haud ignota fides. Tu vero, regum prudentissime, qui tuos nôsti, qua fide, quo animo, qua demum affectione tibi serviant, cura de me ut velis. Equidem vicesimus tertius annus est ex quo tuæ regiæ majestati sedulus inservio. Audio de multis quos tua regia benignitas quotidie magnis donat honoribus ; ego vero omnium novissimus ac minimus. In te, domine, speravi : memor esto verbi tui servo tuo in quo mihi spem dedisti. Accipe igitur annalem hunc quoque precor, placido, ut omnia soles, vultu, meque tuorum per totius anni circulum immortalium gestorum memorem tandem aliquando respicias, humillime efflagito. Preface.

Vale, rex pacifice, qui exaltatus es hodie super omnes reges universæ terræ. Vale, inquam, sanus perdiu longævusque.

ANNUS VICESIMUS TERTIUS.

Vicesimo tertio anno felicissimi regni Angliæ regis Henrici Septimi, [dominus Willielmus Broune[1]] urbanus prætor, dominus Willielmus Butler et Johannes Kyrkeby [duumviri[2]] creati sunt. A vigilia autem divi Bartholomæi,[3] ut ante in superioribus annis duximus, invictissimi regis nostri res gestas ordientes, primum regis Romanorum oratorum adventum, ad urbem primum, inde ad Silvam Cæduam[4] dominica dicto festo proxima taxavimus. Nec præterire nobis licet quorundam prædonum Britannicum mare infestantium improbitatem, quorum dux ferebatur dominus De la Palice, rapinam in mercatores, et præsertim in Teutones grassantium,[5] quos Rex Francus in exilium miserat, quorum incursu sæpe inter amicissimos principes discordia intercedit. Mercatores autem Angli, et maxime vinetores, qui quotannis ut fit Burdegalam pergunt, super hujusmodi piratas regis consulendi gratia sunt profecti. Interea bellorum fragor inter Maximilianum et Lodowicum Francum regem de imperio pululabat. Orator autem Franciæ prædictus apud Wodstok et Alemanniæ. Rex non[6] omnigenarum ibidem ferarum

A.D. 1507. August.

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[1] The mayor's name being omitted in the MS. is here supplied from Fabyan's Chronicle.

[2] This word omitted in the text. In a marginal note, however, we read "prætor et duumviri."

[3] August 23.

[4] Woodstock.

[5] *crassantium*, MS.

[6] Sic, perhaps an error for *enim*.

A.D. 1507. August. venatus stragesque multis diebus præbuit. Quibus breviter expeditis, Septembris initio ad sua rediere.

September. Inter hosce dies Turcarum maximi mors et reverendissimi domini Eboracensis divulgata est; Lovanium præterea a Gallis obsederi tentatum. Nona Septembris ex Cædua Silva rex movit apud Langle. Atque ubi aliquandiu illic remoratus est Londinum versus propius accessit, venitque ad alia loca utpote Hawking,[1] deinde

October. ad quasdam alias novas mansiones quas circa urbem comparavit. Tum demum ex Anthonæ Curia Richemondiam in festo Omnium Sanctorum[2] revisit. Per aliquot autem ante dies dominus Privati Sigilli,[3] dominus Thesaurarius,[4] dominus Sancti Johannis,[5] et doctor West Caletum profecti sunt cum Flandriæ legatis communicandi gratia. Cujus legationis primarius, dominus de Bergis, et alii complures magno cum equitatu [ad numerum[6]] ducentorum, ut ferebatur, ad prædictam villam pervenerunt.

Maximilian in Italy. Interim rumor magis magisque Maximiliani exercitus augebatur in Italiam pergentis; quod ubi Rex Gallus compertum habuit, suam ipse propere expeditionem Mediolanum versus destinavit. Hoc autem mense Octobris hincinde varii ex variis principibus ad regem nostrum venere nuncii. Prætereo opulentissimum prætoris urbani in crastinum Simonis et Judæ[7] pro antiqua consuetudine concelebratum convivium. Nec commemoro marchionem[8] et dominum Guillelmum Devoniæ[9] per id tempus Calisium fuisse transvectos. Ultima vero Octobris Dominica qua vidi dominum historia fuit inchoata. Reverendus præsul Londoniæ ad crucem Sancti Pauli saluberrimam toti regno habuit concionem.

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[1] Woking.
[2] Nov. 1.
[3] Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester.
[4] Thomas, earl of Surrey.
[5] Thomas Docwra.
[6] Not in MS.
[7] Oct. 29.
[8] The marquis of Dorset.
[9] Lord William Courtenay, son of the earl of Devon.

Undecima vero Novembris Westmonasterii rex appulit. Per hos dies Gallos qui suppetias Geldriæ tulerant circiter mille trucidatos aiebant. Nec multis post diebus quidam eleemosinarius regis Franciæ, in Scotia Rossensis episcopus, jactatusventis hic appulit. Divi autem Clementis festo[1] Richemondiam ex Occiduo Monasterio rex adiit. De Cardinali autem Adriano qui acta jam æstate ex urbe Roma aufugerat, cui rex infensus erat, iterum hoc in mense de altera fuga rumor hic erat non vulgaris. Similiter de rege Romanorum in Italiam cum ingenti exercitus apparatu passim ferebatur. Fuere isti paulo ante dies gelati nivales et frigidi. Rex autem ex Richemondia rediit Westmonasterium divæ Katherinæ die[2] post nonam circiter horam quintam. Fuere autem nocte sabbati Adventus et mane ejusdem Dominicæ[3] nimborum flamina stridentissima.

A.D. 1507. November. Slaughter of the French.

In die autem beatæ Barbaræ[4] ad meridiem grandinavit et tonuit. Vespera autem divi Nicholai[5] ventorum prælia per totam noctem fuere vehementissima. Cujus die rex post prandium Richemondiam rediit. Quinta vero Decembris obiit dominus Franciscus Marsam, vir profecto et morum probitate et probatissima erga regem fide; quem Ferdinandus Aragonum rex cingulo militari donarat. Tumulatus Cruciferorum. Cujus animæ misereatur Deus. Septima Decembris ex Francia dominus Mathæus Baker reversus est, sturconemque[6] egregium cum suo sessori dono ad regem nostrum advexit. Ipse vero quadringentorum torque aureorum et Windesor caducifer[7] centum aureis a rege

December.

A present from France to the King.

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[1] Nov. 23.

[2] Nov. 25.

[3] Nov. 27, 28.

[4] Dec. 4.

[5] Dec. 6.

[6] *Sturconem* pro *asturconem*. In a marginal note "E Francia equus egregius" is faintly legible.

[7] Thomas Benoilt, afterwards Clarencieux King of Arms, appears to have been Windsor herald at this time. *MS. Collections of Anstis, Herald's College.*

A.D. 1507. December. Gallo donatus est. Septima vero hujus mensis ex Hispania ad regem literæ de rebus inibi compositis, et domino Johanne Emannuel qui superiori anno totum pene regnum illud turbarat in gratiam recepto, perlatæ sunt. Tertiadecima ejus mensis Marescallus qui antea sæpe legatus Franciæ accesserat Londini appulit: cui obviam dominus Thomas Brandon et Baker profecti sunt. Quo tempore in Turri residebat rex noster clementissimus; ad quam undecima prædicti mensis venerat. Quartadecima Decembris præfatus orator ad Turrim perrexit, et quintadecima similiter, conveniendi regis gratia. Sexta vero decima rex apud Wantstede ubi orator interfuit venatus est, eodemque die in arcem[1] rediit. Decimo nono Galliæ orator nuncium expedivit in Franciam. Quo die dominus Johannes Wyndfeld vita functus est. Hisce vero diebus Gallicum de Januensibus carmen super Dominicam Orationem facetum regi præsentatum est. Per hos autem dies de Sophia[2] illo propheta rumor allatus est, contra Turcum illum feliciter triumphasse, multisque millibus interemptis, Turcorum dominia occupasse, altero[3] filiorum Turci interempto; præterea rem Christianam illum Sophiam restaurare quotidie, et deorum templa falsorum funditus diruere. Sane, si vera est fama, multa humano generi ventura. Et hæc sexta Augusti ex Constantinopoli ad Venetos et Florentinos conscripta sunt et ad regem nostrum sub plumbea bulla, ut aiunt, destinata.

Great slaughter of the Turks.

Treaty for the marriage of the Princess Mary.

Vicesimo quarto prædicti mensis cum domina Maria regis nostri filia natu minima matrimonium Karoli archiducis confirmatum renunciabit,[4] et illis quidem quibus olim domina Margareta Edwardi Quarti soror

[1] *aream*, MS.

[2] Ismael, who was called the Great Sophi of Persia. See *Rycaut's Turkish History*.

[3] *altera*, MS.

[4] Sic, qu. pro *renunciatur?*

dotibus[1] et legibus Burgundiæ duci Karolo nupta fuerat. Dominus Privati Sigilli Caleto reversus Dovariæ aliquantisper ægrotavit; quem altera navi dominus Thesaurarius consecutus ventis eluctantibus nondum applicuerat. Rex autem Richemondiæ tunc vicesimo primo Natalem auspicatus fuerat, ibique degebat festa Natalitia pro more suo solenniter transigens, quo Galliæ orator præfatus quinto die Natalis profectus est. Rediit vespera Circumcisionis. Quo die nonnulli de pace regis Franciæ ac Romanorum conflata, alii propter necem machinatam in Julium Romanum pontificum, auctore Ventivolo illo[2] de quo anno superiore scripsimus infecta pace dictitabant. A.D. 1507. December.

Die vero anni novi primo propter jamdictum inter Karolum et Mariam conclusum connubium lætitiæ ignes magna vicatim vini exuberante copia passim accensi sunt. Galliæ vero dictus orator secunda Januarii aliquantisper ægrotans ad regem ut constituerat non est profectus, et propterea jam dicta luce Baker illum ubi primum diluculavit excusatum apud regem properavit. Quo quidem die nuncius ab urbe incredibilia dictu, hoc est de primis verni fructibus temporis floridoque frumento visis, referebat. Hoc autem anni primordio dictus Galliæ orator alterum in Franciam nuncium expedivit. Cardinalis autem Rothomajensis in civitate sua Christi Natalem magna undique heroum oratorumque pro rege suo expediendorum turba comitatus solenniter observabat. Quinta vero jam dicti mensis regius duumvir Gallicum oratorem opipare convivio excepit, cui ego quoque interfui. In crastinum autem idem orator Richemondiam petiit. Epiphaniæ autem nocte[3] præclara inibi principibus et ipso oratore cæterisque dominis de more A.D. 1508. January.

[1] *dotis*, MS.

[2] Alexander Bentivoglio. See *Guicciardini*, book vii.

[3] Jan. 6.

A.D. 1508. January. purpureum regem comitantibus, spectacula fuere bifaria turritis curriculis exhibita, altero quidem egregiam vehentem dominam, altero quinque ornatissimis pueris regis ex curru prodeuntibus sigillatimque choream cum illa ineuntibus; quæ quidem ut visu mirabilia, ita mihi quoque dictu impossibilia videntur, tantus personatibus illis decor, tum gestu, tum vultu, tum vestitu inerat, tantaque gloria. Sacelli quoque regii cantores præstantissimam agitavere comœdiam. Tum demum opiparum convivium nocturnum illustres multifariam ferculis preciosissimis opulentum domini gemmis et auro splendidi intulerunt. In crastinum autem rex Anthonæ curiam secessit relaxandi animi gratia, mansitque ibidem usque ad decimam Januarii; Honnoræ domum a se novo comparatam revisit. Undecima vero apud Chersey, duodecima Okynge demigravit. Tertiadecima vero jamdicti mensis nobilis Mathæus Baker memoratum Galliæ oratorem domi apud se festiviter et opulenter cum multis aliis tam urbis quam curiæ primoribus excepit convivio splendidissimo. Hoc quidem antea Richemount caduceator nona Januarii factitaverat. Antiquus autem Hispaniæ legatus de Poebla doctor egregius septima præfati mensis ab Anthonæ curia, a benignissimo rege multifariis humanitatis officiis, præstitoque illi Ponti regis antidoto, eodem rege illius cubiculum accedente ibique aliquandiu humanissime illum ægrotantem[1] consolante, ab infirmitate paulum post soporem mirifice recreatus urbem repetiit. Quo die doctoris West familiaris Reynesford, generosus a prædicti oratoris Iberiæ famulis noctu, ut aiunt, ante jamdicti oratoris fores non multis ante diebus lethaliter vulneratus, sepultus est.

Illness of De Puebla.

Per hosce autem dies certus rumor de percusso inter Romanum et Gallum regem fœdere promulgabatur. Et

[1] *crogantem* in MS.

hoc quidem tempore Scotus quidam doctor theologus eruditorum in corona sacerdotum in præclarissima æde divi Pauli epistolas ejusdem magna cum omnium expectatione bis in die interpretabatur. Tertia vero decima Januarii præmemoratus Hispaniæ orator ad regem apud Hawkyng est profectus. Venit quoque per id tempus ab Escotia quidam comes Hemertoniæ una cum fratre suo,[1] viri bellatores inclyti, qui anno superiore istac dissimulanter transeuntes in Franciam trajecerunt; quamobrem rex dominum Hugonem Vaughan obviam illis e[2] Francia redeuntibus in Kantiam misit, [jussit[3]]que illos in civitate hac tractari festiviter. Cui alter duumvir Dominica sequenti,[4] urbanus autem prætor magnum convivium exhibuit. Hic est ille qui cum illo strenuo milite de Labastide in Scotia, ut in superiori anno scripsimus, strenuissime duellatus est. Hoc idem jam dictus frater ejus, nomine Patricius, adversus Gallum quendam dominum de Campana in Scotia olim factitavit.

A.D. 1508. January.

A Scotch divine expounds St. Paul's Epistles.

Eodem jam dicto die dum Hispanus orator de Poebela post prandium curiam peteret, super civitatis pontem quendam familiarium suorum Loparoys satellites urbici detinuerunt, affirmantes illum in antememorata Reynesford nece cum aliis consensisse. Orator vero illum suis infirmitatibus pernecessarium affirmabat, et idcirco rogavit illos ut ad filium suum Sancti Pauli præcentorem adducerent, qui centum librarum securitatem pro illo daret. Illi autem officiales, in publicam custodiam eundem trahentes, equum ejus quasi forisfactum retinuerunt; quamobrem prædictus filius media nocte in curiam patrem consecutus est. Sub idem

A servant of the Spanish ambassador seized.

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[1] James, second lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, and his natural brother Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavill. *See* Douglas' Peerage of Scotland, I. 697, and Pinkerton's History of Scotland, II. 62.

[2] *et* MS.

[3] Om. in MS.

[4] Some words appear to be omitted in this place.

A.D. 1508. January. cernere erat. Prætereo festivissimum illius recipiendi proximis modum et in primis duorum illustrium, domini videlicet regii Camerarii et domini Halberti et deinceps reliquorum. Interfuit huic tam egregiæ receptioni antememoratus Galliæ orator; interfuit et Hispaniæ. Rediere sub id temporis a Maximiliano Wyndfeld et Baker de regia custodia quos rex illuc miserat. Rediit etiam in urbem Eliensis episcopus; et penultima ejusdem mensis dominus Henricus Hawte sacerdos utraque lingua peritus olimque nostri ludi primarius discipulus correptus interiit.

Defeat of the Swiss by the Venetians. De Helvetiis autem a Venetis spoliatis atque repulsis, tum gratia rumusculus erat. Eisdem pene diebus Polidoro Wallensem archidiaconatum[1], Gondesalvo vero Eboracensem rex contulit. Vespera Candelariæ Richemondiam Galliæ orator, qui paulo ante nuntium iterum misit in Franciam ad regem decorandum, profectus erat; ab ipso rege prædicto die perpingui dama donatus, post triduum ire distulit. Tres etiam seniores urbis, nescio ob quod indignum facinus, regio carcere intrusi sunt.

February. Tertia Februarii ab archiduce legatus venit in urbem hanc, dominus præpositus de Casse, vir apprime doctus, et qui paulo ante in Francia legati officio functus est. Et sexta ejusdem mensis Divitem Montem ad regem perrexit, ipsoque die reversus. Per id temporis articulari morbo aliquantisper laborans in publicum rex non exiit. Undecima vero ejus mensis anniversarium felicis recordationis reginæ, reginæ Elizabethæ olim regis nostri consortis per urbem totam et regionem, hoc est per singulas regni parochias, cathedrales, collegiatasque ecclesias atque religiosa loca cujuscumque ordinis, solenniter, ut in superioribus annis observatum est, sereniter, magnis ubique pecuniarum summis unicuique

Illness of the king.

[1] In margin "Polidori promotio digna."

locorum de more distributis. Londoniensis autem episcopus[1] apud Westmonasterium eo die sacrificavit; ad quem locum complures[2] alii domini spirituales et temporales ac generosi ad offerendum convenerunt; sed in primis regis loco ejus suus[3] obtulit dominus Egidius Dawbeney camerarius ex Richemondia ab eodem rege ad hoc destinatus. A.D. 1508. February.

Tertiadecima hujus mensis ille Flandriæ orator et frater ejus a domino Sancti Johannis convivio opipare ac festiviter excepti sunt. Quo tempore Sayer, Radnap et Johnson cives Londonienses ob pecuniam regi fidejussionis gratia debitam ad Sancti Martini sanctuarium confugerunt. Ac [ea[4]] etiam tempestate legatus ex Hispania huc trajecit, Guttiere Gomes de Fuensalida, qui, ut aiebant, serenissimi principis pactam pro secundo regis filio dotem attulit; cui divi Pauli præcentor obviam processit. Deprehensus etiam quidam apostata Britanniæ Minoris et ordinis Sancti Dominici qui jactabat se plurimas artes etiam magicas tenere, cum quibus nihilominus in carcerem detrusus est, sauciatis prius, ut ferebatur, qui eum trahebant clientibus. Venere per id tempus vicecomites urbis et jamdictorum civium domos ingressi obsignaverunt; cujus rei gratia propter ecclesiæ immunitatem tuendam hujus loci et ordinis provincialis et prior magistrum Dudle adierunt, et deinceps dominum cancellarium. An apostate Dominican.

Sed ad regem nostrum redeo, qui per totos jam exactos dies si non obstetisset podagra Gryniwicum venturus erat. Dilata sunt etiam hastiludia quia Flandriæ oratores nondum venerant præter antememoratos fratres oratores dominæ Margaretæ, quorum alter singularis ad magistratum Brugis gerendum revocatus est. Vicesima prima hujus mensis oratorem sæpe memoratum Galliæ

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[1] William Barons or Barnes.
[2] *cum plures*, MS.
[3] Sic in MS.
[4] Not in MS.

A.D. 1508. February. lautissima cœna festiviter excepit. Et in crastinum jam-dictus Flandriæ orator hinc abiit. Ægrotaverat autem paucis ante diebus regius camerarius. Hac vero die vicesimo secundo ille Hispaniæ prædictus orator urbem hanc ingressurus expectabatur. Et in crastinum per totam diem et noctem validissimi venti præliati sunt. Vicesima secunda vero apud Lodowicum de la Fave amplissimo convivio receptus est Flandriæ orator. Vicesima tertia antiquus Hispaniæ orator ad novum visitandum ex curia venit. Consiliarii autem regis, utpote dominus Sancti Johannis cum aliis, quotidie illum idoneum[1] Hispaniæ oratorem honoris gratia post prandium visitabant. Fuere per hosce dies vultibus occlusis apud Lamehith inter quosdam nobiles hastiludia, qui [post[2]] peracta confestim sine mora ad curiam equo velociter rediere.

Ambassadors from the French queen, and from Spain.

Vicesima ex Hispania,[3] hoc est ex parte reginæ Franciæ, venit alter orator, senescallus, ut aiebant, de Morlanis jurisperitus. Hoc etiam tempore orationem habuit doctor West ad novum Hispaniæ oratorem in hospitio ejusdem, præsentibus aliis regiis consiliariis, in qua primum adventus ejus gratulatio regisque ac principum lætitia declarabantur, et de rebus Hispaniæ feliciter compositis regis gaudium. Ille Gallice non minus facete quam prudenter respondit. Ille autem memoratus Britannus etiam orationem egregiam habuit, præsentibus dominis, regio scilicet cancellario atque thesaurario, et altero etiam Galliæ oratore, in æde Prædicatorum[4] sub privata audientia, ubi de commeatibus et commerciis navalibus communicatum est. Sed in crastinum divi Mathiæ[5] antiquus regius tonsor

March.

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[1] Sic in MS., but I presume a clerical error for *id est, novum.*

[2] Not in MS.

[3] Apparently an error for *Britannia:* in the margin are the words "Brito Orator."

[4] *Prædicatoris,* MS.

[5] Feb. 25.

equo decussus brachium confregit. Hoc autem quod de Britone jam dixi secunda Martii factum est. A.D. 1508. March.

Naves autem undique naufragæ mensibus exactis non paucæ periere. Rediit autem memoratus senescallus Britanniæ ad concilium apud Prædicatores, et cum eo alter Galliæ orator. Quinta vero Martii Flandriæ legatus Hispanusque præfatus (antiquus enim tum graviter ægrotabat) ad duellares ludos conspiciendos quos dominus Henricus Bukkynghamiæ[1] et idem dominus comes Kantiæ cum suis commilitonibus ultro citroque strenue inierunt profecti sunt. Quorum quidem spectaculorum magnificentiam, quia in ore omnium palam est, de[2] hujusmodi pluscula mox dicturus supersedeo. Sexta præscripti mensis quæ fuit secunda Carnisprivii dies, propter equorum quietem ludi interpolati sunt. Septima die ambo Franciæ legati ad spectacula perrexere. Sed ille, seu, ut verius dicam, Maximiliani ejusque filiæ orator memorato die quo profectus est domum rediit.

De illo autem imperatore ejusque vasto exercitu in Venetos multa dictitabant per hosce dies. Illud autem a tabellario qui tunc e Gallia redierat suo Gallus orator certum habuit regem, illum per fines Ligurum aut Insubrorum progredi et ideo adversum Venetos cum Gallis fœderatos arma tentasse, Valleque nescio qua vi occupata multa molitum; sed tandem, strage suorum prius facta, ab Helvetiis Galli regis Venetaque manu longe fuisse repulsum. Alii contra de illo aliter sentiebant. Interim pax infida aut induciæ cum duce Geldriæ tractabantur. Et ea gratia dictum Cassæ præpositum ne Gallus rex medio regis nostri ducem illum juvaret huc venisse aiebant. Prætereo mercatorum Rothomagensium choream egregiam ac sumptuosam et Maximilian defeated.

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[1] See p. 106. note 1. | [2] *de de*, MS.

A.D. 1508. March. multi auri ad tali jactum profusionem factam. Noctu sexta Martii et item domini Brando lyricinis inibi de duellatorum laudibus modulatissima carmina coram Franciæ Marescallo domino Burgoniæ Mathæo Baker regulo et compluribus[1] aliis argutissime decantata. Nec memoras lautum Mathæi Baker Gallis oratoribus eodem die exhibitum convivium.

The Turks and the Sophi. Quid dicam iterum de illo Sophia,[2] de quo reverendissimus Sanctæ Crucis Cardinalis ad serenissimum regem nostrum gravissime scripsit, illum videlicet Christiana matre creatum, velleque modo [quod[3]] Christiani principes adversus Turcas sibi suppetias ferant, Europam illis relinquere Asiaque contentum[4] [esse[3]]; Turcarum[5] vero ducem ea gratia cum Soldano confœderatum ut viribus illius resistere possit, misisseque totum quem habebat in Europa exercitum ut alterius vim repellat; quod si Christiani reges, relictis invicem inter se discordiis, ad illas oras jam præsidiis vacuas tenderent, facillime illas obtinerent. Ab Scotia Solymorum urbem petens archiepiscopus quidem peregre hoc tempore hic appulit. Duo præterea e Francia novi oratores, alter dominus Dawbeney,[6] alter Tholosæ præsidens et supplicationum magister in Galliæ curia his diebus expectabantur; quibus iterum decoctores tres[7] tam Venetiis quam Brugis declarati sunt.

Item tertiadecima Martii ex Divite Monte rex Bathoniensis domum episcopi vesperi commigravit, et quintadecima Grynwicum petiit. Ædem Beati Johannis hoc tempore propter indulgentiam consequendam ipsum aiebant privatim adiise. Princeps autem eo die regis loco, cum aliquot dominis regulariter regio in cubiculo pransus est. Sed valetudine paulisper adversa palam

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[1] *cum pluribus*, MS.
[2] See p. 102.
[3] Not in MS.
[4] *contemptum*, MS.
[5] Sic, qu. pro *Venetorum?*
[6] Robert Stuart, lord D'Aubigny.
[7] See p. 106.

rex non prodiit, verum secundo flumine ad prædictum locum delatus est. Vix dici posset quantam illius adventu lætitiam conceperit hæc civitas. Paucis ante diebus regia mater ad ipsum visendum venerat, et quia Grynwicum venturum audierat illuc præcessit: ibique languore levato degebat meliuscule. Vicesima prima Martii antedicti Galliæ oratores, dominus videlicet Dawbeny, et alter, supplicationum regiæ domus magister, octoginta equis egregie comitati, urbem ingressi sunt Scotiam petituri. Quo die primum illius regionis parvulum interiisse principem auribus meis increbruit. Rex, ut dixi, noster illius mortem graviter ferens, relicto propter adversam valetudinem Divite Monte, Grynwici sanior multo residebat. De prædictorum autem oratorum virtute ac præstantia ex magistro revelli literatissimo doctore theologo Parisiensi postea intellexi; quorum alterum non minus bello quam pace clarissimum, alterum vero tam Cæsareo quam pontificio jure præstantissimum, veridicum tanti patris testimonium multifarie commendabat. Præscripto autem die urbanus prætor principio nominatus ab hac vita migravit ad Dominum. Prædictus autem revelli custos divi Francisci conventus Butiliensis[1] ferebatur. Annunciationis autem vespera[2] jamdictus dominus Dawbeny equo sedens ornatissimo, purpureus, colloque torque aureo vasti ponderis cochleis angelici ordinis insignito, pulchra comitatus caterva ad Sanctum Paulum rei divinæ gratia audiendæ pulchro cum equitatu incessit. Vicesima septima Martii diluculo ad Scotiæ iter inceptum sine regis nostri, propter ægritudinem, colloquio progressus est. Quo die novus in urbe prætor, dominus Laurentius Almer[3] electus est, qui antea duumvir fuerat. Et per omnes hosce dies rex, ut ante dixi, Grynwici languerat, sed duce [Deo[4]] sensim reconvaluit. Interim utrique, tam Franciæ

A.D. 1508. March.

Death of the prince of Scotland.

Death of the lord mayor.

[1] Sic in MS.
[2] March 25.
[3] Laurence Aylmer.
[4] Not in MS.

A.D. 1508. quam Flandriæ oratores, alter dentibus, alter triduana febre laboravit circa Aprilis initium.

April. Colloquia interea cum nuncio Britone in arte prædicatoria inter proceres fuere non pauca. De rege autem Romanorum cum Venetis rumor parum secundus habebatur. Franciæ rex Lucduni per id temporis agens Venetis ferebat suppetias. Nona vero Aprilis ad Paulinam crucem pontificale indultum, exceptis quatuor aluminum abactoribus, divulgatum est amplissimum ad basilicam Sancti Petri in Urbe reficiendam, quo suspensæ sunt præter regiam veniam omnes indulgentiæ; sed postea idem, nescio quas ob causas, repressum est. Sub hoc tempus Aragonum regem vitæ periculum a quodam suo familiari illatum incolumem evasisse aiebant; summum etiam pontificem oppetisse falso dictitabant. Paschate[1] vero Galliæ oratorem pleuresi graviter ægrotasse certum est, et ante illum per quadragesimam Flandriæ legatum febre triduana laborasse constat. Sacrosancta autem Paschatis die ad vesperas quidam Hispanus principissæ cursor in æde beati Augustini Anglicum quendam suo gladio vulneravit, unde per festa Paschalia ecclesia violata diutius caruit obsequiis. Vespera cujus diei regius chirurgicus inter de curia navicula redeundum a quodam remige incauto[2] confracta temporum ossa silice, hoc est, mandibulam conquassatam, reportavit. Tertio autem Paschalium festorum dominus Willielmus sacerdos Mathæi Baker, Brito, expiravit; cujus animæ misereatur Deus. Hoc tempore divi[3] et Martii supplicationes propter jam dictam ecclesiæ violationem prætermissæ sunt. Sermones autem illi solennes ad hospitale Sanctæ Mariæ Episcopalem extra portam Doctor Yong prior noster, quamvis ægrotus, et carbonarius[4] egregie celebrarunt. Urbis autem dudum

Attempt on the life of Ferdinand king of Arragon.

[1] Easter fell on the 23d April in 1508.

[2] *in tanto*, MS., an evident transcriber's error.

[3] Saint's name omitted.

[4] Sic in MS., qu. *cancellarius?*

recordator Sheffelde suo se officio abdicavit. His etiam Paschalibus festis nuncius e Flandria appulit, qui prius regem adiens ab eodem quam mox ad Flandriæ legatum mittitur. At ille reserata literarum cellula nuncium ad regem remisit. Ad finem vero prænotati mensis belua marina, quam alii delphinum, alii acum seu bolonem propter rostri acumen putavere, captus hoc in flumine est. Ultima Aprilis Cantuariensis suffraganeus Augustinensium ecclesiam reconciliavit. A.D. 1508. April.

Expectati jampridem legati Flandriæ propter regis ægritudinem in aliud tempus venire distulerunt, taleque nuncium Caleti antinotator,[1] diu cum domina Margareta jussu regio commoratus retulit. Sexta Maii e[2] Flandria sturco piscis miræ magnitudinis vivus regi delatus est a quodam illius gentis amplissimo prius ab ipso rege munere donatus; quem quidem piscem inter legatos regios, Galliæ videlicet, Hispaniæ ac Flandriæ, rex partiri jussit, caputque oratori Flandriæ præsentari. De civitate autem Norwicensi tertia ex parte igne correpta atque exusta cum magno multorum civium detrimento rumor erat; quod quidem facinus cuidam externo nomine Petyt John ascriptum est. Observatum Wyndesore divi Georgii festum atque inibi milites aurati cum caduceatoribus pro rege ibidem præsidente regio senescallo, solenniter ac splendide solitis diebus congratulati sunt. Undecima vero Maii rex apud Eltham cum suo cubiculario et paucis admodum levandæ sospitatis gratia, privatim recessit. Venit autem per hosce dies ad[3] Franciæ legatum cum literis nuncius, et ea gratia idem orator, longa jam ægritudine levatus, ad Grynwicum perrexit. Venit etiam domini Kyldariæ filius dominus Gerardus, et multos tam regi quam aliis proceribus sonipedes partitus est; cum quo strenuus

May.

Great conflagration at Norwich.

[1] Sir John Wiltshire. See *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 52.

[2] *et*, MS.

[3] *ac*, MS.

A.D. 1508. May. quidem bellator adventavit, quem Scotus miles Patricius, vir in omni armorum disciplina peritus, quibusvis pugnandi et certandi generibus superavit. Serenissimus autem princeps Walliæ ad annulum, sicut antehac sic hoc tempore, cum suis commilitonibus belli præludia tentans sese exercuit exercetque indies. Rex autem interea venatibus ut dixi apud Eltham indulgebat, ubi camerarius ischiadicus laboravit. Venere præterea sub idem tempus e Normania quatuor ecclesiastici ordinis cantores argutuli digitis et voce, suavem modulandi peritiam ostentantes, ad regem visendum destinati. Rumor præterea nescio quis de regis Romanorum exercitu die Paschatis tam a Gallis [quam[1]] Venetis fuso fugatoque spargebatur. Ad prædictos[2] autem oratores [rex[3]] iterum quartadecima hujus mensis ferinam misit copiosam. Maximilianus autem Lucimburgum venisse dicebatur. Rex autem noster ab Eltham Grynwicum reversus est quintadecima Maii. Gallus autem orator recidivatus in tertianam incidit. Interea regius cubicularius strangulia graviter laborabat. Indulgentia quoque Sancti Petri Romæ sæpius remissa his diebus tandem multis conditionata casibus in lucem prodiit. Quibus quidem diebus aër ultra solitum fuit flagrantior, pestisque altius exerebat caput. Mors domini Egidii Dawbeny regii camerarii fidelissimi vicesimo secundo Maii.

Death of Lord Daubeney, the king's chamberlain.

Hæc inquam infausta atque infelix mihi, immo vero toti regno dies notatur, nigroque notanda lapillo, qua[4] decessit ille vir bonus, prudens, justus, probus, et omnibus dilectus. Nocte prædictam diem præcedente circiter decimam noctis horam in hunc qui sequitur modum lætus migravit ab hoc sæculo. Primum, Jove dictum diem præcedente, cum post cum rege equita-

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[1] Not in MS.
[2] *prædictores* in MS.
[3] Not in MS.
[4] *quamquam*, MS.

tionem de Eltham apud Grynwicum propter megendi difficultatem lecto inibi procubuisset, ut melius curaret valetudinem domum suam Londoni flumine delatus est. Cumque jam plus octo diebus non urinasset, neque illum tot medicorum turba levaret, præsciens se morti propinquum, "Eja," inquit, "cessate medici, cessate inquam, etenim manus Domini tetigit me." Mox, accito confessore, "Vestra," inquit, "medela mihi opus est, ad salutem animæ comparandam, nam corporis pro valetudine non refert. Vixi, equidem vixi, et quem mihi finem Deus ordinavit attigi. Satis mihi est si Jesu Redemptori ac Regi meo fidelis ab hac vita migrem." Post hæc sabbato sequente animæ semper nitenti[1] iterumque, postea in mentem venerat, confessus est. Et postea, regiæ capellæ decano ministrante, multaque salubria monita, tam ex parte regis quam suapte prudentia eidem referente, fusis ubertim lachrymis et singultibus, verbisque quæ præ dolore a me nunc recenseri non possunt prælibatis, summa cum devotione et fide Corpus Dominicum ac reliqua deinceps ecclesiæ sacramenta sana mente recepit; neque cor et lingua ejus in Christo laudes et gratias dicere; omnesque suos familiares et domesticos dulciter consolando alloqui, quos omnes ad vitam donavit feodis et possessionibus. Et illa nocte quievit melius. Dominica vero totus jam cum Christo devota mente cathedræ assidens et magna cum reverentia rem divinam audiens, spiritualiter iterum sanctam communionem toto cordis affectu accepit. Noctis vero hujus diei circiter novenam jussit filium suum ad se vocari; quem constanter sapienter ut antea solebat, et paterno vultu aspiciens de suæ vitæ erga Deum sedulitate regemque constanti fide ac erga omnes humanitate, pietate, comitate, admonuit sedens (nam crurum tenus defecta jam membra gerebat), dataque

A.D. 1508. May.

[1] Sic, apparently a word omitted.

A.D. 1508. May. illi pientissimis verbis benedictione, labascere cœpit. Quod dominus Worsowik[1] videns, si[2] Passionem Christi mente recoleret signum aliquod postulavit. Ille, quamvis extrema hora laborans, bis levatis in cœlum manibus, oculos patefecit, dicensque novissima verba, "In manus tuas," usque ad illud "Spiritum," sine ullo fremitu aut pavore Jesu Christo humiliter animam tradidit. Cui pro sua infinita bonitate et suæ Passionis inenarrabilibus meritis, Dominus Jesus Christus, precibus suæ Matris et omnium Sanctorum quibus assidue serviebat, requiem æternam donet. Amen. Pro cujus obitu sequens a me epitaphium factum est:—

Epitaphium domini Daubne.

Militiæ decus ac fidei memorabile culmen,
  Dawbeny Egidius mole sub hac situs est.
Septimi[3] Henrici Camerarius ipse fidelis
  Extitit, et mera simplicitate bonus.
Hic cœlum Henricus Sextus qua luce petivit,
  Huic quoque migravit. Christe, memento sui.

His funeral. Obiit autem anno millesimo quingentesimo octavo et nocte vicesima prima Maii. Vicesima sexta Maii magna cum celebritate atque omnium rerum honorificentia flumine corpus ejus delatum est ad Westmonasterium, horam post meridiem circiter tertiam, quo in loco pientissimum suorum ordinem, lamentumque aspectantium, omniumque fere nobilium dominorum, tam in progressu quam in officio ecclesiastico, consulto prætereo. Hoc tantum scribo quod in crastinum [decanus[4]] Regiæ Capellæ primam, abbas vero ejus loci secundam, præsul Londoniensis tertiam missam celebravit. Rector autem Croydon inde mortui laudes egregie de-

[1] Urswick.
[2] *se*, MS.
[3] *Septem*, MS.
[4] Not in MS.

clamavit. Oblationem etiam omnium dominorum, præsertim domini Cancellarii[1], necnon caduceatorum illius insignia ferentium transeo. Illud autem consulto factum est, utpote vel propter teneritatem ætatis illius filius officio funebri[2] non præfuit sed ejus loco amatus quidam sororis filius officium ministravit, in talibus fieri solitum magnis funeribus vexilliferorum. Præterea omnes tam sui quam uxoris generis nominare prætermitto. Ad summum expleta sunt pro tanto viro honorificentissimo officia[3] vix dictu facilia. Tandem præfato die in sacello seorsum a regia basilica communi cum omnium planctu tumulatus est. A.D. 1508. May.

Prima Junii, quæ fuit vigilia Ascensionis Domini,[4] regia indulgentia propter populi multitudinem uno die adaucta[5] id est sexta feria sequente inchoata est. Quo die domina Dawbeny post funera mariti solenniter celebrata, quia rex illo venturus erat, Hampton Courte reversa est. Quæ cum audisset regem postea mutasse sententiam adhuc in urbe remorata est. Rex autem palam suæ indulgentiæ non interfuit. Ad ipsum autem hoc tempore duo religiosi ordinis Bonorum Hominum de Francia cum certis postulationibus quas rex non admisit hic appulerunt. Per hosce reliquum civitatis Norwici ferme totum cœlitus conflagravit. Quo tempore de Ludowici Mori ducis quondam Mediolanensis in Francia diu captivi morte nuncium venit. Expediti etiam sunt antedicti Rothomagenses fidicines, magnoque a rege donati munere, octava Junii repedarunt. Et sub idem tempus ad oratores omnes rex iterum ex Grynwico ferinam misit copiosam. Nuncii etiam e Flandria revenerunt de Maximiliani ingenti exercitu

June.

Another fire at Norwich.

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[1] William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury.

[2] *funelebri*, MS.

[3] *officio*, MS.

[4] This is an error. The 1st of June was Ascension day itself, not the eve of Ascension day in 1508.

[5] *adauta* (?), MS., the first *a* being cancelled.

A.D. 1508. June. adventuque in Flandriam deque Batavi[1] successu nescio qualia referentes. Interea ut a fine Maii fit æstus præter solitum, sine pluvia usque ad hunc diem tertiumdecimum Junii continuavit. Vigilia autem Pentecostes[2] hora post nonam tertia jussus est Flandriæ orator ad Grynwicum accedere. Unde eodem die reversus est. Hac die[3] hora quinta cum dimidia mane eclipsis lunæ universalis visibus humanis cernenda[4] sperabatur. Tum illa sub terris eclipsata vulgus imperitum elusit. Accessit et ipsa dies ut aliæ priores clarissima; verum biduo aut triduo post, hora tertia post meridiem, tonitrui fragore paulisper excusso largus imber defluxit, toti satorum genti saluberrimus; sicque Sancti Spiritus, cujus tunc festa colebantur, gratia in se sperantibus non defuit. Quintadecima vero Junii hastiludia apud Grynwicum propter ipsius adolescentis principis armati in conspectu nobilium præstantiam clarissimis undique heroibus circumfultam longe celeberrima fuere. In quibus præclarum illud ad annulum hastis petitum spectaculum cernere fuit operæ pretium. Post deinde torniamenta sine principe validiores cominus[5] exercuerunt.

An eclipse of the moon.

Sexta vero decima ejusdem mensis ubertim defluxit pluvia. Quo die ex variis nationibus quinque hic appulerunt cursores. Præscriptaque die Episcopus Moreliensis, Scotus orator, præstantibus viris comitatus applicuit, qui gravidam, ut aiunt, reginam Scotiæ referebat. Hic autem Trinitatis festa luce[6] cum honesto comitatu ad fratres Augustinienses incessit. Quo tempore reverendus doctor Stok ordinis Heremitarum Sancti Augustini prædicator egregius, postquam

News from the court of Scotland.

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[1] Sic, qu. pro *Batavorum*.

[2] The eve of Whitsunday was the 10th of June in 1508.

[3] The eclipse took place on the 13th of June according to *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*.

[4] *cernendas*, MS.

[5] *quominus*, MS.

[6] June 18.

diu lethargo laboravit, migravit ab hoc sæculo. Uxor etiam domini Oze[1] regii cognotatoris obiit. Teutonus autem orator Trinitatis die a rege Grynwicum accitus cum eodem diu commentatus est. Hoc idem Gallus orator factitavit, qui, abeundi venia impetrata, vicesima quinta abiit. Sub idem tempus triste nuncium de morte domini Dawbeny ab Scotia allatum est. Non multos autem hosce ante dies dominus Herbert regius Camerarius declaratus est. A.D. 1508. June.

De pace autem inita inter Maximilianum ac Franciæ regem rumor erat leviusculus, quamvis treugam nonnulli referebant. Spectacula vero natalis divi Johannis vespera[2] longe præclarissima hoc anno ostensa fuerunt, quemadmodum superioris mensis hujusque aliquot festis diebus pone Christi ecclesiam circa urbis pomaria divinæ recitatæ festis diebus fuere historiæ. Non multos ante dies cancellarius domini Londoniensis in Turrim conjectus est. Et quidam dives de Hansa mercator dum de navi in scapham desiliret in Thamisi mersus, tandemque in Grynwicum ejectus est. Venere interim e Flandria huc trajicientes nuncii vigilia [Petri et Pauli[3]] Apostolorum,[4] qui Sanctæ Crucis Cardinalem in Flandria jam diu cum rege Maximiliano de rebus summi Pontificis tractantem, item alia multa referebant. Duorum autem Apostolorum distinctis diebus hoc anno, primo quidem Januenses, deinde Veneti, divi Georgii Marcique festa egregie celebrarunt. Horum quidem Sanctorum dies Paschali tempore intercurrentes observari non potuerunt. Apostolica vero luce jamdicta Flandriæ orator nobis vicinus una cum regio magistro rotulorum Grynwicum ad regem perrexit. Peregrini etiam e Sancto Johanne Ambiennensi e naufragio liberi et salvi redierunt. Quos autem jam diu scripsimus

Rumoured peace between Maximilian and the French king.

NB

[1] Hussy.
[2] June 24.
[3] Om. in MS.
[4] June 28.

A.D. 1508. June.

propter sponsalia venturos[1] a Flandria oratores, captis jam circa nos in Aula Sartoria eorum hospitiis, prope diem exspectabamus. Immo vero Maximiliani orator Caleti jam tum ferebatur applicuisse. Ad hæc de rege Portugaliæ Emanuele in utraque India atque Ethiopia miratu allatuque dignissima Nichodemus quidem Florentinus mercator referebat; illum, videlicet, parta cujusdam regionis victoria, omnigenas species sub ditione sua tenere, regemque illius terræ sub tributo misisse gemmas varias trecentorum millium ad conficiendum Emanueli regi monile baccatum. Ultima Junii rex ex Grynwico Bathonienses ædes accessit. Quo die in Suthwerk domus aliquot incendio conflagrarunt; quod quidem facinus Scotis et Gallis vulgus passim ascripsit, et propterea quidam dicto die inibi captus est et prætori urbano traditus. Et hoc quidem tempore dominus Cantianus iterum inter duellandum cum principe, ut aiebant, suum confregit brachium; talique die dominus * * [2] intumulatus est.

Conquests of the Portuguese.

July.

Rex autem ex prædicta domo post prandium Richemondiam flumine uti venerat usque ad Morlake devectus est, ibique transeunter in septo illo de Morlake venatus est. Et hæc fuit prima Julii. Tertia vero apud Wenworte[3] secessit. Quo die vesperi saluberrimus imber defluxit et Visitationis Elizabethæ[4] matutinus. Quo quidem die martyrum Processi et Martiniani pluido[5] (?) quadraginta diebus vulgo pluere confabulantur. Quarta hujus mensis ingressus est urbem Maximiliani legatus, dominus Andreas de Burgo doctissimus, cui obviam processit dominus Wigorniensis,[6] Brandon et Poyntz; et ex parte altera sæpe antememoratus Flandrensis orator;

Ambassador from Maximilian.

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[1] *venture* in MS.

[2] Blank in MS.

[3] Wandsworth.

[4] An apparent error for *beatæ Mariæ*. July 2.

[5] Sic in MS.

[6] Silvester de Giglis, bishop of Worcester.

qui omnes centum ferme numero utrinque videbantur, honeste et decenter ornati undique. Domicilium autem regis atque familia Grynwici interim splendide observata ipsum regem expectabat; ex ædibus autem nostris officii gratia ad prædictum legatum ibat redibatque mane et vespere ille Cassæ præpositus dominæ Margaretæ Flandriæ nuncius antememoratus. Et dominus Wigorniensis ubi primum orator ille urbem ingressus est ad regem properavit. In crastinum autem ipse cum Brandon legatum adiere. De dominis autem Scotiæ, custodia major circa illos apposita est; quos quidem rex jurejurando illis durissimo in suam fidem astringere volebat. Illi promissis regiis sese delusos reputabant apud eorum custodem strenuum dominum Hugonem Vaughan regiæ custodiæ præfectum, in cujus ædibus prædicti a suis arctius servabantur. Ad quos quidem præsules Scotiæ doctor clam in colloquium veniens repulsus illico fuit a dicto custode verbis et pene factis gravissimis.

A.D. 1508 July.

Interea ad regem accitus est legatus ille novus cum egregio comitatu episcopi Wigorniensis et domini Brandon magni scutiferi regii, et intra hunc annum aureo donati cingulo propter fidem ac ipsius in duellando dexteritatem. Cujus quidem præsulis adventus regi fuisset longe gratissimus si reginæ Scotiæ serenissimæ triste de abortu nuncium non audivisset. De incendiariis autem urbs Londinum sibi metuens passim in Scotos et Gallos rumorem spargebat. Rex autem, priusquam ex ædibus Batoniæ solveret, grande illud ædificium instar Parisiensis hospitalis prope Dominam de Rowncidevale construendum diffinivit. Deinde flumen usque ad Fullam illinc parvo comitatu venatum, ut ante diximus, perrexit. Vespera autem divi Thomæ[1] ad Richemondiam ex Wanworth rediit. Et postridie ejus

Foundation of a hospital.

[1] July 7.

A.D. 1508. July. diei Chatanensis episcopus, vir sane non tam sacris literis quam humana scientia multipliciter exornatus, tamen habitu simulato in Angliam venit, et fuit cognitus et in Turrim deductus est. Sed rex postea illum e Turre accersivit[1] et apud Richemondiam festiviter atque splendide suscepit. Ille vero ex Hispania fugiens in Flandriam, ad archiducis Karoli servitium, in quo primitus fuerat, honorifice reversus est. Per istos dies hastiludia exercuit præclara ad annulum ut antea princeps Walliæ serenissimus; et cum eo plerique in Richemondia rege spectante duellati sunt, sed ipse omnes reliquos antecelluit. Rex interim recessit ad novum illud prope Richemondiam supradictum domicilium et cum eo sua genetrix clarissima paucis comitata nymphis. Hinc Langle postero die relaxandi animi gratia; multum enim antea propter ægrotationem longam lassitudinis et maciei contraxerat. Interim, ut est urbs quæque plena novorum, rumor de Scotorum insultu varius ferebatur; sed rex omnium prudentissimus suapte prudentia omnia temperabat, librabat, pensiculabat. Qui venatoria, ut dixi, circumquaque Richemount nemora perlustrans, tertiadecima hujus mensis Winsoram venit, auditaque re divina, apud Stanes pransus est, ac deinde Wanwort manerium nocte rediit. Fuit cum illo eodem itinere Scotus episcopus. Quartadecima Andreas ille Maximiliani orator cum Flandriæ oratore cœnavit; ad quem hæc ego ex tempore meum epigramma misi:—

"Ἀνδρα virum Græci merito dixere, notantes
Circa[2] hominem quantum præstet origo viri.
Hoc venit Andreæ nomen de nomine; nullum
Post Christi nomen majus in orbe fuit.
Magnus Alexander, magnus Pompeius; at illi
Inclyta de gestis nomina rebus habent.
Si proprium quæris, nihil est præstantius ipsa
Virtute. Andreas ergo supernus erit."

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[1] *axercuit*, MS. [2] *Citra*, MS.

Ad istos autem misit rex ferinæ copiam. Et hoc quidem tempore quidam hujus ordinis novitius cum diabolo colloquium habuisse ferebatur. Accingebant autem se provincialis et prior cum reliquis patribus ad capitulum in Boston generale celebrandum, quod in fine hujus mensis observatum est, magna undique fratrum confluente caterva. De Archipræsulatu Eboracensi jam diu vacuo Dunolmensis episcopus illum habiturus dicebatur. Interim ad regem profecti sunt sextadecima Julii tam Cæsaris quam archiducis oratores apud Richemondiam. Et rex ipse vicesima apud Lamehith secundo flumine delatus, dehinc equo vectus Grynwicum venit. Quo tempore Scotiæ orator abiit. Deinde venit Scotiæ reginæ eleemosinarius. Interim accingebat se rotulorum magister[1] una cum domino Brandon legati inde ad Cæsarem. Semoti etiam sunt non multis ante diebus Scotiæ illi sæpememorati domini; antehac enim simul cum præfecto regiæ custodiæ habitabant. Et hoc quidem tempore ad regem rediere dux Bukkynghamiæ comes Darby, episcopus Eliensis et comes Oxoniæ, qui duo, cum propter infirmitates, tum propter privata negotia, diu se in suis ædibus et dominiis continuerant. Comes autem Oxoniæ Stratfordiam primum, deinde Grynwicum ad regem venit mansitque aliquot diebus. Venit autem ad urbem ad ducem Bukkynghamiæ convivandi gratia, vicesima septima mensis hujus. Rex interea totus propinquis jam sponsalibus[2] intendebat, multam pretiosam suppellectilem a mercatoribus comparans Italicis, qui dum irent occupatum, versus Olford cæsi fugatique fuere per hosce dies a milite Reynsford; quorum querimoniam regi nunciare medicus ille regius Baptista, qui tum ægrotantis visitandæ causa uxoris ad urbem forte advenerat, est pollicitus. Fuere præ-

A.D. 1508. July.

Ambassadors sent to the Emperor.

Italian merchants waylaid and plundered.

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[1] Dr. Young.

[2] See pp. 102, 103, *antè*.

A.D. 1508. July. The sweating sickness.

terea hoc in mense quidam aulicorum de familia domini Thesaurarii correpti sudore et interierunt, et passim undique occidunt vicatim in urbe hac non pauci. Quæ quidem plaga annos circiter quatuor et viginti huic quoque regioni atrox incubuit; quam altera longe detestabilior consecuta est, lepre instar abominanda, et quæ multos adhuc vexat egregios alioquin viros tabifica lues. Venit interea mulier quædam nobilis cum marito suo domino Dupplecy e Francia, honesto sociata comitatu, peregre, ut ferebatur, divi Thomæ Cantuariensis lumina visitandi gratia. Tensæ sunt etiam his diebus telæ cassium in morem, prope Stratford, rege illic cum externis oratoribus præsente; qui venandi ritus ex Gallis ut alia pleraque translatus est, fecitque idem prudentissimus rex, Matthæo Baker mediante, ejusmodi lineorum retium plagas et viros illis disponendis aptos advehi. Rexque ultima Julii in ejusdem Stratford monasterio jacuit. Sed quid his diebus acciderit patri et duobus filiis cognomine * *[1] quorum mors vicissim alternisque pene diebus, ut dicebatur, ex dolore raptorum bonorum, aut, ut alii dictitabant, sudore qui urbem jam pene totam invasit, non præterire est animus. Quid illud de seniore civitatis, domino Capell, nescio quas ob causas regias vexato, prætereo. De illa autem domina Dupplecy, cujus vir hoc tempore ad regiam majestatem honorifice conductus venatui regio interfuit.

The king hunts near Stratford.

August.

Prima Augusti rex ad illos memoratos casses venit ad Wanstede; et in crastinum, præsentibus cunctis jamdictis oratoribus, egregiam, ut aiunt, præ nimia cæsarum

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[1] A blank was originally left in this place, and has been filled up in a different hand with the words "intereunt, quid illi." The cause of this apparent absurdity was the misplacement of two leaves of the MS., by which the words "interierunt et passim" immediately preceded the blank in question. To judge by the handwriting of the interpolation, the leaves must have been misplaced at a very early period. They still remain transposed, but the pagination is corrected.

ferarum multitudine venationem publice exhibuit. Interfuere etiam tam Hispani quam Italici mercatores, in quos rex bonus feras in omnes affatim partitus est. Advolarunt rurigenæ quoque et in illos contulit affluenter ferinam. Hoc etiam die soror domini Burgoni apud Carthusienses honorifice intumulata est. Narrabatur item[1] multos præscripto die variis in locis sudifico morbo antespectatum contabuisse; et furit adhuc tabificus ille morbus: multi tamen bona cum custodia emergunt. Rex autem quarta Augusti præscripto in loco iterum venatus est. Quinta vero secessit ad Eltham apud magistrum Lovell et clarissimam ejus matrem. Quo die in cœmeterio Sancti Pauli permultorum annorum corpus plumbo inclusum integrum repertum est.[2] Rex autem magnum Teutonum numerum, nescio quorsum, hujus mensis initio misit cum apparatu bellico, Helvetiorum more; locis autem præfatis venatus est affatim dictis oratoribus et nuncio Franciæ, qui octavo die Augusti expeditus repedavit. Quo die cujusdam domini Gallici de Biannois famuli appulerunt urbi huic ut patronum suum propter homicidium Angliam primum, postea in Scotia fugitantem quærebant. Rediit etiam eo die Caletus nuncius ex Caligio, et quidem impigre. Per hosce dies domini novi Camerarii uxor apud Cawle vita functa est, et apud Shene tumulata. De regis autem Romanorum conspectu et præsentia non diu apud suos visa rumor erat. Supplicatio etiam ob hanc sudoris plagam publica apud divum Paulum facta est. Quo tempore de capitulo redeuntes confratres nostri ordinis Augustinensium pro rogatu in aliud triennium magistrum Tonys provincialem retulerunt. Rex vigilia Divi Laurentii[3] e prædicto loco ad suam genitricem apud Hatfield com-

A.D. 1508. August.

A band of Germans.

Public prayers on account of the sickness.

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[1] *idem*, MS.

[2] In margin "Mirum vero."

[3] August 9.

A.D. 1508. August. migravit, et illinc apud Wansted ubi quidam familiarium sudaverunt. Et ideo rex illinc ad Berkyng, et illinc ad alia loca finitima, vigilia Assumpsionis[1] secessit. Non enim, propter sudoris suspicionem, Grynwicum venire volebat, nec in Eltham, quibus locis principales domicellæ regiæ sudaverunt; usque adeo sæviebat illa tempestate per omnia loca sudifica lues. Principis quoque familiarium aliquot desudavere; nec fuga tunc proderat nec spelæa ferarum, quoniam mors omnia vincit. Illinc migravit rex ad dominum Oze, et illinc ad dominum Johannem Lowes decima septima Augusti ubi oratores antedicti venandi gratia interfuere. Sed grave in omnes aulicos edictum factum est sub indictis pœnis ut nullus Londonio veniens curiam ingrediatur neque urbem petat quisquam. Qui[2] autem ex regiis familiaribus sudore correpti fuerant incolumes evasere præter dominum Graystok adolescentem alioquin apprime nobilem præclaraque indole virtutum exornatum, qui tabifica jamdicta lue in curia occubuit. Et propterea rex hac atque illac ititans domicilia multorum nobilium suorum plurima quotidie visitabat. Cum quo ambo prædicti oratores sudoris timore perterriti peragrabant saltibus in variis cum eodem rege jucundissimos multifariarum ferarum discursus capturamque copiosissimam cernentes. Hoc etiam tempore domini[3] Privati Sigilli dominusque novus Camerarius sudore correpti sospites emerserunt, sed bonæ memoriæ regii sacelli decanus doctor Symeon, theologorum decus et unicum humanitatis erga pauperes asylum, eodem sudifico morbo interiit. Cujus anima beatis cum spiritubus congaudeat.

His etiam diebus canonici quidam de Lyseus[4] honeste cum mulabus equis famulis ac vestibus sericis[5] ornati cum[6] literis Galliæ regis dominique cardinalis Ro-

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[1] August 14.
[2] *Quia* in MS.
[3] Sic in MS.
[4] Lisieux?
[5] *ceriseis*, MS.
[6] *cum* repeated in MS.

thomagensis ad regiam majestatem accessere; quæ tunc ruri in ædibus Sancti Johannis erat, et illinc ad ædes domini Mountjoy commeavit; inde ad alias illius oræ nobilium domos quotidie domicilium mutans ventitabant. Hujus autem mensis ad extremum quidam mercatoris habitu, clarissimis ortus natalibus, utpote ab imperatoribus Byzantinis et Macedoniæ regibus originem ducens, quique Albaniæ ducis minimus natu filius, sed, cunctis jam suæ egregiæ stirpis vita functis, maximorum potentatuum successor et hæres Durachii oriundus, Johannes Lyon dictus, in meam primum notitiam venit; qui regiæ majestati per literas supplicavit ut sui regni indigena fieret, quique mercaturam hic exercet. Ejus avunculus dominus Constantinus regis Romanorum omnium præfectus exercituum ferebatur. Divi autem Bartholomæi vigilia rex noster, præsente Cæsaris oratore, egregiam iterum exercuit venationem, dieque præcedenti alteram quoque exhibuerat eximiam; in qua cervus lineum captum transiliens Petrum tonsorem equo ibi spectantem dejecit, non sine capitis læsione. Ille autem Flandriæ orator jamdicta die cum Flandrensis colloquia Londinum rediit; et de vicesimo tertio anno quanta per auditum aptare potui hactenus.

A.D. 1508. August.

Peroratio.

Scio equidem, sapientissime rex, multa hujus annalis præclara tuæ celsitudinis facinora me præteriisse;[1] verum, quia ut in aliis prædixi annalibus instructionis[2] mihi, ut olim constituerat tua summa prudentia, copia

[1] The word *in* is here unnecessarily inserted in the MS.

[2] *instructoris*, MS.

A.D. 1508. August. non est, obsecro atque obtestor ut ignorantiam meam nulla præsertim culpa commissam supportari dignetur tua regia benignitas.

DEO GRATIAS.

LES DOUZE TRIOMPHES

DE

HENRY VII.

LES DOUZE TRIOMPHES DE HENRY VII.

Ensuivent douze Gestes que Herculles fist en son temps, figurées sus douze Triumphes que a faictes tres-illustre et puissant Roy Henry, VIIe de ce nom, Roy d'Angleterre.

L'Acteur.

Pour resoner les admirables gestes
Du roy Henry VIIe d'Angleterre,
Des triumphes qu'il ha en son temps faictes
Contre Envye, la pire de la terre,
Qui le poursuyt d'une mortelle guerre,
Ainsi qu'on peult en son cas regarder :
Mais touteffois, comme nous debuons croire,
Nulle ne peult nuyre a qui Dieu veult aider.

De sa vertu et loable haultesse,
Selon le mien petit entendement,
Je veul parler, affin que l'en cognoisse
Comme il regne victorieusement.
Faulce Envye est tousjours en dement
Le destruyre par son sort venymeux ;
Mais en la fin resiste tellement,
Qui confondra les traistres envieux.

Pour en parler par aulcune figure,
De ses beaux faictz et ses haultains degrés,
Il m'est besoing qu'aulcunement procure
Ceulx qui ont eu en leur temps telz regretz.
J'ay regardé en l'ystoire des Grecz
Comme Juno eut de Herculles envye,
Et ne congnoys propos qu'il soit plus près
Du Roy Henry, Dieu luy doint bonne vie.

Douze triumphes Herculles si ha faictes
Durant son temps, se nous compte l'ystoire.
Il fust hardy et vaillant en ses gestes
Pour acomplir quelque œuvre méritoire.
Mais je treuve d'une plus grant victoire
Le roy Henry que Herculles, il est vray :
Car ses faictz sont meulx dignes de mémoire
Contre Envye ; et je le prouveray.

Juno, plaine d'envye et de malice,
Invitoit fort le roy Euristeus
Qu'il commandast œuvre non pas propice
A Herculles, pour qui ne regnast plus.
Juno cuidoit que en ce fait fust forclus
De sa vie, mais ce fust aultrement ;
Car il usa de si nobles vertus
Qu'il resista tresglorieusement.

Qui est Juno ? Pour le cas bien entendre
Ainsi qu'on voit et qu'il peult apparestre,
La douaire de Flandres se doibt prendre,
Qui invitoit à dextre et à senestre
Ung qui se dist, je ne sçay s'il peult estre,
Roy des Romains, pour ce bon roy destruire ;
Pour luy j'entendz, et est bon à congnoistre,
Euristeus ; en ce me peult suffire.

Quant des dragons que Juno aporta
En la chambre de Herculles pour l'occire,
L'ystoire dist que Herculles les macta,
Mais de ce fait plus avant ne veulx luyre.
Douze aultres faictz veulx en ce lieu escripre
Que Herculles fist, de vertus bien nourry,
En ramenant, se je le sçay bien dire,
Aulx triumphes du noble roy Henry.

Vous, auditeurs, ayes moy excusé,
Se grossement couche ma rhétorique.
Comme ignorant je me suis disposé
A ce faire : mon engin si aplicque.
Car à cause que j'ay veu en publique
Les beaulx effaictz du roy que veulx conter,
Premièrement, et sans plus de réplique,
Je vous supply qu'il vous plaise escouter.

La premiere Geste.

Comme j'ay dist que par l'ennortement
Ceste Juno dist à Euristeus
Qu'il envoyast Herculles plainement
Pour combatre le leon Cléonus,
Lequel y fust sans y tarder non plus.
Juno cuidoyt par ce le faire abatre,
Mais il trouva le pasteur Molorcus,
Qui luy bailla sa massue pour combatre.

Je n'entendz point d'aultre pasteur que Dieu,
Qui a baillé au roy Henry puissance
Pour resister par tout et chacun lieu
Les envyeulx qui luy portent nuysance.
C'est le pasteur qui est son aleance,
Qui luy baille celle forte massue,
Pour le garder en bonne jouyssance :
Non aultrement n'est la choze entendue.

En ensuyvant ceste geste première
Que Herculles fist, qui le leon vainquist,
Ce fust œuvre exquise et singulière
Quant le leon Cléonus abatist;
Don de la peau du leon se vestit,
Et s'en arma, affin qu'il fust plus fort,
Et la garda, comme l'ystoire dist,
Toulte sa vie jusque à tant qu'il fust mort.

De ce leon j'entendz un roy superbe;
C'est à sçavoir, roy plus grant en noblesse
Que les aultres, Virgille en un proverbe
L'escript ainsi, en honneur et haultesse,
Ce nonobstant que à present on l'abaisse
Pour l'apliquer en vice aulcunement.
Sy l'entendz je et pour autel le lesse,
Comme on faisoit lors anciennement.

Et de ce roy je me taiz le nommer,
Qui du leon est icy figuré.
Le roy Henry estant de là la mer
Cuyda par luy bien estre devouré;
Mais Dieu pour luy a si bien procuré
Qu'il ha vaincu et ha sa peau vestue.
De ceste peau vous sera desclairé
Qu'elle doibt estre pour vertus entendue.

La peau est force, et prudence, et ricesse,
Que apartienent à roy premièrement,
Comme on lisons en l'ystoire sans cesse
Du bon Jason, qui conquist noblement
La Toison d'Or, ce n'estoit seullement
Que le trésor du roy nommé Ouete
Roy de Colcos; il n'est point aultrement
Sans que j'ey prengne ne que du myen y mette.

Le ij^e Geste.

Puis Herculles, en ce deuxiesme geste,
Tua Hysdra, une horrible serpente ;
Et tout ainsi qu'il coupoit une teste
Sept en sourdoyent ; la choze est apparente.
Et touteffois, affin que je ne mente
(Les poètes l'ont meslé par fiction.)
Sy m'est forcé que j'en baille l'entente
En vous donnant significacion.

Ysdra, c'est Grec qui vault autant à dire
En bon Latin *aqua :* ce sont deux eaux.
Si les poètes, dont, l'ont voullu descripre
Pour serpente, il n'y a pas grans maulx.
C'estoit ung lac, d'où sourdoyent grans ruysseaux,
Qui le pays de l'environ gastoient.
Quelque labour qu'ilz feissent ne travaulx
Les grans ruysseaulx estancher ne sçavoyent.

Ysdra est donc pour ung lac nommé Lerne
Dont il sourdoyt des eaues grande affluence.
Mais Herculles, par son subtil gouverne,
Trouva fachon de son art et science
Le restancher devant tous en présence,
Par feu et aultres instrumens à ce duys,
Et exempta de ceste violence
Ceulx et celles qui estoient au pais.

Qui prendrons nous pour les eaues de ce lac
Qui ont couru avant ceste contrée ?
C'est Envye, qui en maint estomac
De plusieurs gens devant tous s'est montrée
Orde et salle, villement acoultrée,
Getant venyn sur grans et sur petis ;
Et qui ne l'eust en partie sequestrée
Besoing estoit de quicter les pastis.

On a peu voir au pays d'Angleterre
Les grans seigneurs troublés terriblement,
Tant qu'ils ont fait les ungs aulx aultres guerre
Que le pays alloit pyteusement ;
Mais le bon roy, à son advenement,
A tout sesché du feu de charité,
Et reunis ensemble tellement
Qu'ilz sont en paix vivans en unité.

Le iij^e Geste.

Or nous fault il au tiers geste venir
Où Herculles usa de grant practique ;
Car il vainquist par son fort maintenir
Et myst à mort le senglyer Archadique.
De ce senglyer c'est droit que je l'aplique
Au roy Richard, puis qu'il vient cy endroit,
Lequel tenoit comme faulx et inique
Le lieu royal, sans y avoir nul droit.

Or avoit il retins pour sa devise
Le grant pourreau qui est trèsorde beste ;
Et ne sçait on pour quoy il avoit prise
Se ce n'est Dieu, qui les cœurs admoneste.
Au bon l'honneur, et le mauvailz conqueste
Tout deshonneur, noblesse le regnye ;
Car Péché nuyt et est dit deshonneste.
Il est villain qui fait villennye.

De ce Richard encor parler je veulx,
De ce qu'il fust de sens si rebuté
De deffaire ses deux propres nepueux.
Ce fut à luy trop grande cruaulté.
Avarice l'avoit trop surmonté.
Affin de temps luy en debuoit mal prendre.
Aussi estil, car Dieu de sa bonté
Avant ses jours luy ha bien fait entendre.

Le noble roy Henry le conquesta
Sur le beau champ victorieusement :
Et croy que Dieu en ce jour l'apointa,
Car ce fust fait miraculeusement.
Petit de gens firent sy grandement
En donnant coups et d'estoc et de taille,
Que les contraires se rèndoyent humblement,
Et fust Richard tué à la bataille.

Le iiij^e Geste.

Du quatriesme parlerons ceste foys,
Où Herculles y fist geste tresbelle :
Ce fust d'un cerf qui se tenoyt au boys
Aulx cornes d'or, ainsi qu'on le révelle
De la grandeur, c'estoit choze cruelle.
Quant Herculles en eust ouy parler,
Comme vaillant chevalier de bon zéle,
Devers le cerf eust grant vouloir d'aller.

Or Herculles chercha tant de remydes
Qu'il voullust voir quelle beste c'estoit.
Trouva le cerf, qu'on nommoit Héripides,
Grant et cornu, qui au boys s'esbatoit.
Herculles veist que le cerf se hastoit
Venir vers luy, mes si bien besoingna
Quelque chose que le cerf combatoit,
En la parfin Herculles le tua.

Qui prendrons nous pour le cerf tant cornu,
Qui ses cornes vouloit faire reluyre ?
C'est le comte de Licaon, qui est venu
En ce pays, cuidant ce roy destruyre.
O Envye ! Trop luy as voullu nuyre
Par tes souldars, qui enfin sont deceups,
Car tout le mal devers toy se retire ;
Tu vois qu'il vient tousjours à son dessus.

Tu amenas le comte de Licaon
Faire tuer, la choze est bien certaine.
Ce fust par toy, et aussi, le dist on :
Tu es doncques de maulvaitié tresplaine.
A tout malheur tes souldars tu amaine ;
Car qui te croyt, il ha pour tout loyer,
Quant que se soit, quelque sanglante estraine,
Car tu ne sçais aultre paiement payer.

Regardons donc si Envye est plaisante
Quant el deçoit si faulcement son maistre.
En tout endroit la personne est meschante
De la croire, et son servant se mectre.
Ce que je dy on le peult bien congnoistre ;
On en ha veu le signe magnifeste.
Deffuyons la par tout et chacun estre,
Et procedons de la ve geste.

Le ve Geste.

De grans oyseaulx et d'estrange figure
Stimphalides en Archadye estoyent,
Et rapinoyent chacune creature,
Ilz devouroyent, aussi tout depastoyent.
Tout le poeuple aller aulx champs n'osoyent,
Pour le grant mal que faisoyent telz oyseaulx.
Les laboureurs leurs labours delaissoyent ;
C'estoit pitié, tant il faisoyent de maulx.

Le bruit en fust. Il n'est rien qu'on ne dye.
Donc Hercules le vaillant s'avança,
D'aller tout droict au pais d'Archadye ;
Qui de son arc tous les oyseaulx chassa,
Par tel moyen que nul n'y en lessa.
Quant les oyseaulx s'en furent tous fuis,
La renommée de Herculles se haulsa
En luy donnant gloire par le pays.

On a peu voyr aussi pareillement
En ce pays larrons grant quantité,
Qui devouroyent et gastoyent tellement
Que le pays en estoit tout gasté.
On ne sçavoit aller de nul costé,
Que on eust esté desrobé et pillé.
C'estoit hideur, à dire verité,
Que le pays en estoit travaillé.

Tant en la mer comme en la terre aussi
Ilz ont regné longuement à l'office ;
Maiz le bon roy ha chassé tout cecy
De son bel arc, j'entendz, de sa justice.
O roy Henry ! que tu fus bien propice
Pour delivrer le pays de tel mal.
On peult aller, par ta bonne police,
En seureté et damont et daval.

Le vj^e Geste.

Le vi^e geste que Herculles fist,
Ainsi comme l'ystoire le ramayne ;
En certain temps il advint qu'il conquist
Menalipe, des Amasones royne,
Et luy osta, c'est choze bien certaine,
Sa saincture, que l'en nomme baltée ;
De ricesse c'estoit la souveraine,
Mais Herculles l'a doncques conquestée.

Menalipe, je l'entendz sans eslongne
Pour en parler alégoricquement,
La douaire de Flandres et Bourgongne,
Qui despence du trésor grandement
Pour couronner et fraudulentement
En Yrlande un nommé Pietrequin ;
Dont el n'a pas fort bon entendement
De despencer son bien pour ung coquin.

Desnué est de tresor et richesse,
Pour le cuider mectre en pocession.
Maiz le bon roy, par vertus et proesse,
Ha d'Yrlande la dominacion,
Et le tendra en sa subjection,
Comme son propre et droite seigneurye;
Et tant d'argent mectre en perdicion,
Chacun s'en rit comme par mocquerye.

Par quoy je ditz quell'est donc despoullée
De baltée, c'est sa riche saincture.
Mieulx lui vallust qu'el ne l'eust pas baillée:
C'est trop semé son bien à l'avanture.
Et me semble que c'est contre nature,
De procurer mectre en pocession
Ung povre homme de basse geniture
En lieu royal; c'est grande oppression.

Pour le présent, tous ses motz taisons les
(On congnoist bien comme la choze est faicte);
Et retournons au vaillant Herculles,
Et ce qu'il fist à son viie geste.
L'ystoire dist qu'il fist belle conqueste,
Aussi belle que aujourduy je parlasse;
Car il vainquist et print pour toute reste
Dyomèdes, qui estoit roy de Trasse.

Le vij^e Geste.

Dyomèdes fust ung trescruel homme,
Et desloyal sur tous les desloyaulx;
Mourir faisoit les passans ainsi comme
Ilz passoyent. Il estoit traistre et faulx.
Sur sa terre, et par montz et par vaulx
Les estrangiés guetoit, pour les occire,
Et les faisoit menger à ses chevaux,
Et ne mangoyent d'aultre avoyne, à vray dire.

Qui prendrons nous pour cest homme cruel
Et inhumain? Avoir il fault regart,
Vous aves ung gendarme nouvel,
Qui se nommoit par nom Martin Suart;
Qu'en dictes vous? Il, venoit il bien tart
Pour menacer à faire montz et vaulx?
Je dis que non. Car il receupt sa part
Pour sa paine avecque ses travaulx.

Il menaçoit tous ceulx de la querelle
Du noble roy à estre tous tués;
Mais, Dieu mercy et la Vièrge Pucelle,
Ses menaces furent bien remués;
Luy et ses gens furent à mort rués
En my le champ, et n'y a point de doubte
Ses complisses furent destitués,
Et receuprent leur tauxacion toute.

Aussi dit on, qui compte sans son hoste
Que cest compte à deux foys. Il est vray;
Car ilz pensoyent faire dancer la note
Qu'ilz danserent en trespiteux arroy.
Or de ce fait plus je ne parleray.
A la viiie geste nous faut venir,
Et abréger en tout que je pourray
Sur le propos que je veulx maintenir.

Le viij^e Geste.

En ceste viiie Herculles combatist
Le grant toreau à grant force de luyte,
Par son effort tant fist qu'il abatist
Et subjuga de sa bonne conduicte.
Ceste œuvre fust d'une grande mérite,
Et y acquist alors une grant gloire.
Aussy fust el de par les Grecz escripte,
Et en sera eternelle mémoire.

Le noble roy que ail fait ? À l'encontre
De ce toreau ne ail point luyté ?
Si ha vrayment, et le fait nous le monstre
Comme vaillant plain de ingenuité.
Le roy d'Escosse par son habilité
A subjugué, et toute sa partie
Par son sens l'a tellement apointé
Qu'il fait de luy son vouloir en partie.

James tel heur ne fust à roy donné
Comme à cestuy, et croy c'est don de grace.
Quelle choze qu'Envye ait ordonné,
James sur luy n'en courust sa menace.
Il vainct tousjours quelque choze qu'il fache,
Et resiste comme victorieux.
Or fault il voyr plus oultre en ceste place
Son ixe triumphe glorieux.

Le ixe Geste.

Nous parlerons icy premièrement
Que Herculles fist en son ixe geste.
Il besongna si vertueusement
Que du grant roy Gerrion fist conqueste.
Ce Gerrion avoit plus d'une teste
(Troys en avoyt, se dyent par fiction
Les bons poètes), et pourtant je m'areste
Dire que c'est à mon intencion.

Roy de Gades ce Gerrion estoit.
Des troys testes dont il est mention,
C'est à cause que deux frères avoit,
Eulx troys estans tous d'une opinion,
Aussi d'un veul vivans en union.
Vela pour quoy les poètes adviserent
Que Gerrion seroit par fiction
Dist troys testes, ainsi en disposerent.

Ce Gerrion le roy dist à troys testes,
Tresriche estoit touchant d'or et d'avoir,
Et sy avoit les grands monceaux de bestes,
Comme l'ystoire nous le fait à sçavoir.
Herculles fist tellement son debuoir,
Qui le conquist à sa subjection.
Or nous fault il tout cecy recepvoir
Et ramener à la nostre action.

Ha le bon roy conquis ce Gerrion?
Ouy vrayment. J'en croy tous les humains.
Des troys testes qui y sont lescairon,
La premiere c'est le roy des Romains,
Puis l'archiduc, l'aultre ne plus ne mains
La douaire; se sont toutes ensemble
Les troys testes, et ne sont pas fains
De destruyre ce roy, comme il me semble.

Or, quoy qu'il soit le roy les ha conquis,
La magniere jamais n'ont sentant faire
Que le bon roy, par son bon sens acquis,
N'ait subjugué tout leur maulvais affaire.
Et tant de foys ilz ont cuidé deffaire
En exposant grans deniés pour ce faict;
Mes Dieu qui vit ne veult laisser forfaire
Son bon amy, mais a leur fait deffaict.

O noble roy! Puisque Dieu t'a fait ayde
Tu n'as gardé d'avoir adversité.
Pren foy en luy, puis qu'il est ton remyde;
Il t'aydera en ta necessité.
En quelque temps, soit yver ou esté,
Ne l'ouiblye point. J'ay tousjours regardé
Ung proverbe qu'on dist de vérité,—
Ce que Dieu garde est tousjours bien gardé.

Le xe Geste.

Sy nous fault il au dixiesme venir,
Et dire ainsi comme la choze advint.
Quant Herculles eust par son maintenir
Prins Gerrion, toultes ses bestes print,
Lors ung larron, nommé Cacus, survynt,
Qui les bestes voulloit toutes rescourre ;
Mais Herculles tant en garde se tint,
Qu'il fust besoing au larron de bien courre.

De ce Cacus ung pou nous parleron,
Que c'est, et quoy, et qui peult resembler.
De nature il estoit grant larron
Qui n'avoit fait aultre choze que embler.
De sa bouche eussies veu assembler
Ung tresgrant feu gettant par habondance.
S'il ne feist il pas Herculles trembler ;
Il le chassa par force et vaillance.

Ou fuyt il, Cacus? Pour abrégier,
Il est besoing que cecy je discerne.
Tost Herculles le fist bien desloger
Legèrement, sans torche ne lanterne,
Et se cacha dedens une caverne,
Là où estoyent plusieurs aultres larrons ;
C'est ung endroit où l'ung l'aultre gouverne
De tout cecy fault qu'on le desclairons.

Pour les bestes je prens aulcuns souldars
Qui descendus sont fraudulentement
En ce pays, pour faire les regnars
Et destruyre le roy totallement.
Ils furent prins et conquis vaillamment,
Et emmenées en despit du larron.
De ce larron je n'entendz aultrement
Que Pietrequin, comme nous le diron.

Ce Pietrequin voullut après venir,
Lequel cuida ses bestes despescher,
Mes il ne sceut par ou nulle tenir
Et luy fust force de bien tost desplacer.
Ce feu gettant, c'estoit son menacer,
Car il pensoit faire de grans oultrages;
Mais le bon roy le fist tantost cacher
En Yrlande avecque les sauvages.

Et touteffois encor recorderons
Que en Yrlande asses je me recorde.
C'est la caverne là où sont les larrons
De sa sorte, gens de sac et de corde,
Où il n'y a paix, amour, ne concorde,
Fors traysons et œuvres trop infectes;
Mais quoy qu'il soit, il fault bien qui l'acorde
Que maulgré luy sont demourés ses bestes.

Le xj^e [*Geste.*[1]]

L'onziesme fust quant Herculles tira
Le chien d'enfer qu'on nommoit Cerbérus.
Et tellement le dit chien martira,
Qui le deffit en son lieu ne fust plus.
Or estoit il des infernaulx palus
Le grant portier, et si avoit troys testes.
Mais Herculles l'a de ses jours conclus
Et le vainquist par ses gestes honnestes.

Qui prendrons nous Cerbérus à troys testes?
Je les entendz pour ses troys capitaines,
Qui furent prins, quant et les aultres bestes,
Aulx quelz on a bien fait serrer les vaynes
Pour leurs travaulx, et aussi pour leurs paines
En ont receu leur debuoir et salaire.
Et myeulx vauldroyt avoir fiebures quarte[ines[2]]
Que entreprendre cela qu'ilz vouloyent faire.

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[1] Om. MS. [2] Cut off in the margin of the MS.

L'ung fust Jennot, l'aultre Quentin, aussi
Avecque Beld, cest nom dyabolique.
De trayson la fin en vient ainsy :
Qui mal fera, en fin mal luy replicque ;
Pourtant poeuple de la nature Anglicque
N'ayes le cœur si vil ne aterry,
Que ne soyes pour votre bien publicque
Bons et loyaulx au noble roy Henry.

Le xij. Geste.

Le xii. vault bien que je compille,
Où Herculles fist ung beau fait encor,
Car il conquist le grant dragon Maxille,
Pour acquerir le jardin de trésor
De Espérides, où croyssoient pommes d'or.
Au grant dragon sa force ne vallust ;
Par puissance et a cry et a cor
Il y entra, quique voyr le voullut.

Pour le dragon robuste et ancien,
N'est entendu de moy, ne plus ne mains,
En cest endroit que Maximillien,
Qui se clame et dit roy des Romains,
Qui a gardé la porte soirs et mains
De ce jardin et beau lieu de plaisance,
À empescher ledit à toutes mains
D'avoir l'amour au noble roy de France.

Le roy Henry a ce dragon vaincu,
Car au jardin il a fait son entrée ;
En bonne amour les deux roys ont vescu,
Ainsi comme ja pieça c'est monstrée,
Ja ne sera se Dieu plait sequestrée ;
Comme cousins et parens se aymeront ;
Les bons marchans d'une et d'aultre contrée
En seureté aller venir pourront

Puis ha ce roy conquis le beau trésor
Qu'il a coeully au jardin de plaisance,
C'est à sçavoir les dictes pommes d'or,
Je les entendz les fleurs de liz de France,
Du roy Françoys à la bonne aleance ;
Dieu les veuille en amour maintenir,
Qui aulx deux roys vouldroyt quelque grevance,
Il y puisse de bref mal advenir.

Or demeure ce Maximilien,
Tout rebouté ainsi comme inhabille,
Car il n'a sceu trouver tour ne moyen
Pour empescher le beau jardin fertille ;
Il est tout seul en labeur inutille
Mort au monde, sa puissance enfermée
En fin sera, vesquist il des ans mille,
Sans nul beau faict de quelque rénommée.

Or ayge dist les gestes principaulx
Que Herculles fist, qui sont de grant mémoire ;
Mes je treuve les triumphes plus haulx
Du roy Henry, et de plus grande gloire.
Raison pour quoy : tousjours optient victoire
Contre Envye, sa mortelle adversaire,
Par sa vertu et œuvre meritoire ;
Ce que Hercules en la fin ne sceut faire.

Comme Envye fist Herculles finer,
C'est bien raison que je le vous entâme.
Le santaure Nessus voullut mener
Passer le fleuve de la tresbelle dame
Dyanyra ; or estoit ce la femme
De Herculles ; lequel quant il le vist,
Grant mal luy fist, car se luy estoit blasme
Que le sentaure sa femme luy ravyst.

Il print son arc et sa saete venemeulse,
Et le santaure de son traitt asigna ;
Il dist tantost que de la playe honteuse
Il en mourroit, car nul remyde n'a ;
Sa chemise de son sang il broulla,
Et avisa qu'il rendroit le plaisir
A Herculles, sa chemise bailla
A la dame, et l'en voullust saisir,

En luy disant, "Dyanira la folle
Ne prens tu point aultre mélencolye ;
Ton mary tient par amours dame Yolle,
Qui est fille au roy Aetollye ;
Je'n osteray asses tost la follye,
Ce faire veulx ce que je te diray,
James n'yra, de toulte sa vie
Il n'aymera aultre femme que toy."

Dyanira tost de santaure creust,
En demandant ce quelle debuoit faire,
Qui au parler du santaure sesmeut,
Cuidant l'amour de Yolle deffaire ;
Le santaure lui dist, comme faulsaire,
Se ma chemise tu peulx faire vestir
À Herculles comme il t'est nécessaire,
Aultre que toy ne vouldra revertir.

Dyanyra, mal informée du cas,
A Herculles envoya la chémise,
Et la bailla au messagier Lichas,
Pour luy porter, dont el fust mal aprise ;
Or Herculles, sans mal penser, la prinse,
Et la vestit ; par quoy, à bref parler,
Toute sa chair fust tantost si emprise
Qu'il se voullust au feu faire brusler.

Dessus le mont que se nomme Ouete,
Fist faire ung feu, quant veist qu'il ne peult
mieulx ;
Et la vollust faire en piteuse feste
Sacrifice de luy à tous les dieux
Finant ses jours. O trèschévaléreux !
Ce sort icy te fust fort dommageable,
Quant en tes jours as este sy heureulx ;
Et pur ce sort est ta fin pitéable.

O Dyanira, de légère crédence !
Qui le santaure creulx ainsi déléger,
N'avoyes tu point en toy de congnoissance
Qui se voulloit de ton mary venger ?
Ton envye luy porta grant danger,
Dont noblesse vengance de toy crye ;
Ta jalouzie a fait à mort renger
Le plus noble de la chevalerye.

Or Herculles avoit tousjours vaincu
Contre envye et toute sa malice,
Maiz maintenant en sa fin fust deceu.
Doù vient cecy ? Estoit il bien propice ?
Je dicz que ouy ; à cause de son vice,
Où il regna froissant son mariage ;
Alors permit la divine justice
Qu'il en courust en ce mortel dommage.

Par quoy concluds qu'il ne doibt point avoir
Telle gloire, ny estre en tel haultesse,
Que ce bon roy : je le fais asçavoir ;
Pource que vice tousjours noblesse blesse,
Ung noble cœur, qui ayme sa noblesse,
Jamaiz vice ni le surmontera
Jusque à la mort ; par quoy je ditz sans cesse,
Que le bon roy plus exaulcé sera.

Il hait vice, et pryse les vertus ;
Il veult user de noble et bonne vie ;
Par ce moyen ha les ventz abatus
Que peuent souffler tous les souldars d'Envye,
Et abatra, quelque choze qu'on dye
Envye n'aira sur luy nullement cours,
Car bon espoir, qui tousjours le conduye,
Le fait estre victorieux tousjours.

Et pourtant, roy, pren bonne pacience,
Et bon espoir ; c'est pour ta seureté ;
Les deux vertus sont de grant conséquence,
Ne les lesse ne d'yver ne d'esté.
A grant paine aulcune adversité
Ne peulx avoir ; croy les beaux ditz des poètes ;
Ilz sont à croire, car d'ancyenneté
On les prenoit ainsi comme prophètes.

Noble Henry, roy puissant d'Angleterre,
Ayes fyance au grant Dieu de la sus.
Les Mariens firent au Cyllens guerre,
Le roy Cilla tua lors Marius,
Qui estoit roy, et y furent confus
Les Maryens, et tués troys cens mille ;
Mes encore tout ne fust pas concludz
Ne mys à mort par leur subtil setille.

Ung aultre jour fust que tout y demoura
Sans réchapper ; l'ystoire le desclaire.
Tresnoble roy, de bien bref on verra
Ta querella, se Dieu plaist, bonne et clère :
Nul n'y aira qui contre toy se ingère ;
Tes anemys en fin subjugueras.
Pacianment ung pou seuffre et espère,
Car en la fin toute victoire airas.

Poeuple dévot, prions tous humblement
Les Dieu des dieux pour la bonne victoire
Du roy Henry ; qu'il vive longuement
En son regne de triumphe et de gloire.
Son noble sang puisse en ce territoire
Regner en paix et glorieusement,
En priant tous qui voirres ceste hystoire
Qu'ilz excusent mon simple entendement.

FIN DUDICT.

JOURNALS OF ROGER MACHADO.

Embassy to Spain and Portugal.

Jh'us an° 1488.

Westmistre.

Memorandum, que le Roy Hanry d'Angleterre et de France et Seigneur d'Irlande le vij^me^ de son nom amvoya une embassade en Espaigne et en Portugall le quatrisme an de son reigne en l'an de grace 1488 le xxj^me^ jour de Decembre. Et estoint les ambassadeurs mester Thomas Salvaige docteur en loye pour chief, et mis^r^ Richard Nanfan chevalier pour le coprs du roy à ce mesmes jour fait chevalier sus les mans entre Westminster et Sien le second de ladicte embassade, et Richemonde Roy d'Armes de Norrey[1], assyné de par le Roy de attendre et acompaignier ladicte ambassade pour toute celle journée que en Espaingne que en Pourtugal ils seroint.

A.D. 1488. Embassy sent to Spain and Portugal. 21 Dec. Names of the ambassadors.

Item, apres que les dicts ambassadeurs avoint prins leur congié du Roy leur Souverayn Seigneur ilz allerent à prendre leur paissaige en la ville de Hampthone. Et en leur compaignie une ambassade du Roy

A.D. 1489. They embark at Southampton, 19 Jan.;

[1] Roger Machado, the writer of this narrative.

A.D. 1489. de Castille[1], lesquelz avoint esté en cestui royaulme d'Angleterre aveques ledit Roy Hanry par l'espace de ung an ou environ. Lesquelz embassadeurs estoint nommés, le premier Rodrigo Rodrigez De la Poubla docteur en loys, mis^r Jehan de Sepoulvada chevallier de la Maisson du Roy de Castille,[2] le quell avoit une commissyon par soy depar la Roynne vers ledict Roy Hanry. Et ce dict[3] chappelain avoit nom Don Martin de Torres. Ces dicts embassadeurs, que de Angleterre et de Castille, partirent tous en une compaignie en deux navieres d'Espaingne hoors de la ville de Hampthone le xix jour de Janivier à l'eure de mydi et furent toute celle nuit en la mer.

and are driven back to Plymouth, 20 Jan.; 1 Feb.

Et landemain au matin a cinc heures ou emviron le vent se sanga et force estoit de plus prendre l'avene de Pleynmue en Angleterre. E là estoint juques le premier jour de Feverier. Et ce dict premier jour de Feverier sont partis de la dict ville de Pleymue environ de une heure apres mydi; et estoit cellui jour la veille de nostre Dame le Chandelleur.

Apres que les dicts enbassadeurs estoint partis et soy mis àla mer il y furent toute celle nuit, et avoint bon vent toute celle nuit joques a l'environ de trois heures apres mynuit; et alors le vent se calmist et changa au West, et apres au Sudest, et

and again to Falmouth.

estoit sy contraire que force leurs estoit de prendre le port de Fallamue. Mes avant que ilz pouvoint gaingnier le dict port ilz furent sur la mer toute celle veille de Notre Dame et le jour de Notre Dame Et landemain de la Notre Dame ilz ariverent à la terre de Fallamue, qui estoit le tiers jour de Feverier, et ariverent aveques grande tempeste de vent, pluie, et

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[1] Originally written *Spaingne*, and corrected.

[2] *d'Espaingne* corrected in both these places.

[3] Sic in MS.

mauves et riguereurs tamps. Et en ceste ville de Fallamue ces dicts embassadeurs se tindrent avant que auchun tans leurs vient pour partir l'espasse de x jours. A.D. 1489. 3 Feb.

Et pource que au commancement de cestui lyvre j'avois oublyé de mettere en espcryt les noms des hostes ou ces ambassadeurs ont esté logiés en cestui voiage il me souvient a present de le espcrire. Et vray est que ces bons seigneurs prindrent leur premier passaige en la ville de Southt Hamptone; et estoit logié le docteur de Castille[1] ala maisson de Jehan Gildon pour lors baillif de ladicte ville, et le chevalier de Castille à l'ostel de ung marchant et bourgois nommé Vyncent Tyt; et le chappelain de la Roynne de Castille estoit logié au logie sur ung aultre bourgois nommé Lorens Nyenbolt. Et estoit logié au logis de cestui chappelain et en sa compaingnie ung herault du Roy d'Escosse nommé Snoudon, lequell estoit amvoié en Castille de par son Souvereyn Seigneur le Roy d'Escosse. Les enbassadeurs du Roy d'Angleterre mon souverain Seingneur estoint logiés, assavoir, le docteur Mester Thomas Sauvaige estoit logié sur ung bourgois nommé Thomas Wilsson, et mis^r Richard Nanfan chevalier pour le couprs du Roy estoit logié sur Richemonde[2] Roy d'Armes de Norrey pour lors demorant en celle dicte ville. Item, apres que sommes arivé à Pleymue les dicts enbassadeurs de Castille se sont logiés, assavoir le dict docteur de Castille sur ung gentijl homme nommé Nycolas Aynsle chevalier; et le chappelain et le herault d'Escosse tous amsamble sur ung bourgois et marchant nommé Jehan Treghill. Et les ambassadeurs du Roy mon Souverain Señor;

Names of the hosts with whom the ambassadors lodged at Southampton;

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[1] *Espaigne* seems invariably to have been written in the first instance for some pages.

[2] *Sur moy Richemonde*, MS.; the word *moy*, however, is struck out.

A.D. 1489. premierement le docteur Sauvaige estoit logié sur l'ung des coustumiers deladict ville nommé Jehan Tickpeny. Et mis[r] Richad Nanfant sur ung gentil homme et alderman dela ville nommé Thomas Tresauel. Et Richemond Roy d'Armes estoit logiés aveques ung nommé * *[1] pour lors maire de ladicte ville.

and at Falmouth.

Item, apres que sommes party de Plemue sommes arivé à Fallamue en la ducée de Cornewaille en cestui royaulme d'Angleterre. Et la estoint les embassadeurs de Castille logiés; le docteur sur ung marchant nommé Jehan Luck, et le chevalier et chappelain et le herault d'Escosse sur ung gentyl homme nomme Thomas Killygrieu, et le docteur Sauvaige sur ung nommé Piers Luck frère audict Jehan Luck. Et mester Richard Nanfan sur ung prestre nommé Sir Jehan Oby[2] vicaire deladicte ville. Et Richemond estoit logié sur ung gentyll homme et escuier de la Maison du Roy nommé James Boynnam.

En ceste ville de Fallamue sommes demourés la spase de ix jours, comme devant ay esperit; et le xj[me] jour apres disner se sont partis les dicts enbassadeurs pour prentre leur navière, mais quant ilz sont venus a la Rode ilz ont trouvé le vent contraire. Et pour celle nuit ilz sont aller logier aupres la Rode ou les navieres estoint en ung villaige nommé Saint Mourisse. Et environ la my nuyt les maroniers de leur nef sont venus aveques ledict batell a querir lesdicts enbassadeurs. Et avant que ilz seurent ariver a bort dudict naviere ledict naviere estoit ja desoubz son tref; et ainsy sont partis les dicts enbassadeurs en la compaygnie de plusseurs aultres messieurs.

They resume their voyage.

Et toute celle nuyt et landemayn tout le jour le vent estoit bon. Et au soir à l'eure de x heures ou

[1] Blank in MS. [2] *Hobby*, corrected.

environ le vent est calmy. Et aynsy courrirent celle nuit. Et landemain le matin qui estoit le xiij^me^ jour de Feverier le vent vient au Sudest, et aynsy ventet ung resonable vent juques à cinc heures apres mydi. Mes certes à l'environ des cinc heures ou entre cinc et six (la lunne se faissoit pour lors playne), certes le vent ventet au Sut et Sut-sut-est et auchuuns fois au Sur-west ; mais il faisoit une si grande tourmente de vent et de pluie que marvelles estoit. Et celle tempeste dura juques à landemain, qui estoit le xiiij jour de Feverier et estoit alors dimenche, et dura juques à l'envyron à quatre heures au matin. Et alors le tamps se calmist, et faissoit ung tres beau tamps. Et le vent pour lors ventoit à l'Est-sud-est, et dura celui vent juques le mardi. Et nous estoit escars pour prendre le couprs de aller a Bilbau en Biscaye comme leur voullenté estoit ; car ilz avoint prins leurs cours d'aller à Bilbau pourceque pour lors il avoint eu des nouvelles que les Roys de Castille[1] estoint en la cité de Vaillodolit. Le Roy de Castille pour lors avoit nom Farnande et estoit filz du Roy d'Aragon ; et avoit le royaulme de Castille de par la Royne, laquelle estoit fille heretiere de Castille pour lors. Et estoit celle fille nommeye Issabel,[2] fille au Roy Jehan de Castille et seur au Roy Henry.

A.D. 1489.
13 Feb.
14 Feb.

Je lesse ce pour retourner au voiayge de ces devant dicts ambassadeurs, comme ilz estoint ainsy en la mer de Spaingne, comme je vous ay sy devant esperit, selui dimanche qui estoit le xiiij jour de Feverier, et pour lors les calendriers de Mars estoint entrées. Ces navires desdicts enbassadeurs courrirent tout cellui jour juques au soir en vers Gallisse, et estoit le vent, comme

[1] Originally written *le Roy et la Royne de Spaingne*, and corrected.

[2] *Jehanne*, corrected.

A.D. 1489. A storm. devant vous ay escript, à l'Est et Sud-sud-est. Mes à l'environ du solail couchié le vant commança fort a venter et se sanga au Nord-est. Et fut toute celle nuit une grande tempeste, et telle que le xvme jour, à l'environ de trois heures devant le jour, vient une telle bouffée de vent que le dict naviere print de celle buffée tant d'eweua que elle estoit toute desoubz l'eua, et pendant tout d'ung coustey, et le grant tref tout presque noyé en la mer; et ainsy se tient ung grant esposse, quasy ung quart d'eure. Et tous les embassadeurs acrier a Dieu et a tous les Sains de Paradis, et non pas eulx tant seullement mes tous ceulx qui estoint dedans cellui naviere. Mes Dieu par sa grace et par les prieres et pelerinaiges qui furent promis aulx bons Sains, estoyent reconfortés et saulvés. Et tout cellui jour courrumes pour gaingner la couste de Spaingne. Et au soir ung petijt devant solail couschié heusmes veuue deladicte couste, et estoit la terre des Esturias en Espaingne; de laquelle veuue estions bien joyeulx. Et aynsy courrusmes toute celle nuit aforce de vent tout aulong deladicte couste. Celluy jour de fortune estoit le lundi et estoit le jour de Saint Jullian au quel furent fais grans prieres par auchuns que il lui pleut nous amvoier bon logis, comme il fist.

15 Feb.

They land, 16 Feb. Et landemayn qui estoit le xvj^me^ jour à-l'eure de vesperes nous aryvasmes à terre en une ville qui est sus la frontiere de Biscaya qui a nom Laredo ou royaulme de Castille. Et là les dis enbassadeurs dessendirent à grant joye et furent menés en la mayson d'un marchant deladicte ville pour y logier. Mes quant ilz estoint dedens ladicte maison l'oste deladicte maison dist qu'ilz ne les pouvoit logier, et qu'il avoit sa maison plaine d'autres hostes. Cestui hoste avoit nom Jehan Gonçalvez de Scallanta. Et alors Richemond Roy d'Armes les fist demorer lieus. Et il ala par la ville à sarchier aultres logis pour cesdicts enbassadeurs. Et par l'ayde de gens de bien quil trouva il fut mené

chiez ung marchant debien, ou d'avanture ledict Richemond trouva congnoissance à ung des serviteurs dudict marchant, qui par avant avoit esté en Angleterre pour facteur en la ville de Hamptone, et là ledict Richemond lui avoit fait bonne chiere, lequell il remonstra à son mester pour lors; duquel son dict mester fut fort contant et recuillit lesdicts ambassadeurs en la maison au mieulx qui lui fut possible. Et estoint tous deux les enbassadeurs logiés en celle maison, et leurs serviteurs estoint logiés en aultres maissons et hosteleries par la ville. Cestui marchant qui aynsy avoit logiés ces enbassadeurs avoit nom Farnan Gracia Delloyo. Et Richemond estoit logié chiez son filz qui avoit nom Farnan Delloyo, lui et ces seigneurs, et lui fist bonne chiere pour son argent. A.D. 1489

En celle ville heurent lesdicts enbassadeurs novelles du Roy de Castille qu'il estoit party de une cité qui a nom Vaillodolit, et estoit allé à une aultre ville qui a nom Medyne Del Campo. Ces dicts enbassadeurs demorerent en celle ville de Laredo toute celle nuit et l'espasse de vij^{me} [1] jours de Feverier. Apres que ces enbassadeurs estoint venus aladicte ville le Alcayde, qui est le chief officier de la ville et plusseurs aultres bourgois leurs allerent faire la reverence et eulx offrir leur service et la liberté de la ville. Ces dicts enbassadeurs, apres que ilz estoint arivés il fist une sy grande nayge que force leurs estoit de eulx respousser l'espace de set jours comme j'ay sy devant esperit. Their stay at Laredo.

Et le xxiij^{me} jour de Feverier les dis enbassadeurs se partirent deladicte ville de Laredo, et allerent couchier celle nuit à une ville nommée Lanestossa, quelle est à v lieues deladicte ville de Laredo en allant devers la cité de Bourgues; et est une bourgade la Arrival at Lanestossa, 23 Feb.

[1] Sic in MS.

A.D. 1489. 24 Feb. derniere de la compté de Biscay, et est une chambre de Biscaye. Et le compte de Harom qui est contestable du royaulme de Castille en a le gouvernement et ausy de toute la compté. De Lanestossa sont partis les enbassadeurs le xxiiij^me^ jour de Feverier et sont allés dysner à une ville qui se nomme Ville Sancte qui est à iiij lieus de Lanestossa. Et y a ung passaige entre Lanestosse et Ville Saincte que on nomme Sandenjesco, et est une haulte montaingne et en tanps d'iver est sy plaine de neyges que par plusseurs fois beaucop de gens en meurent et s'y perdent. De Ville Sainte sont partis et sont allé couschier à une ville clousse nommée Medine de Poumar, qui est a trois lieus de la Ville Sainte. Et de Medine de Poumar sont partis le xxvme[1] jour de Feverier et sont allés couchier en ung villaige que on nomme Coirino qui est a vj lieus de la Medine de Poumar. Et de Coirno sont partis le xxvj^me^ jour, et sont allés repestre en ung villaige nommée Ontoynnyn. Mes deves savoir que entre celle ville de Medine de Poumar et celle villaige de Coirno environ à my chemin a une grosse reviere laquelle court entre deux haultes montaignes, laquelle a nom Ebro ; et court celle reviere juques à une cité au royaulme d'Aragon qui se nomme Saragosse. Et de celle villaige de Hontonyn les enbassadeurs ont amvoiés assavoir àla cité de Bourgus à ung marchant de celle cité nommé Diego de Castro, lequel autrefois avoit hanté le royaulme d'Angleterre et de celle congnoissance lui esperirent une lettre que il lui pleut leur hordonner leur logis en ladicte cité, comme il fist bien honnorablement. Celle villayge de Hontoynyn est à v lieus près de la cité de Borgos.

Medina de Poumar.

Ontomin.

Their reception at Burgos; Quant les dict enbassadeurs estoint arivés à ung quart de lieu près de Borgos, ilz furent rencontrés par le chemin du devantdict marchand Diego de Castro et

[1] *xxiiij^me^*, corrected ; but the correction is blotted and uncertain.

emviron de x a xij aultres honnorables marchans dela dicte cité, les quelz leurs sont venus offrir deùs honnorables logis, assavoir une maisson de ung honnorable marchan nommé Farnan de Castro et ung aultre nommé Allonsso de Sallamanque. Et volloint que l'un des enbassadeurs, assavoir le docteur Sauvayge, fust logié sus ledict Allonsso de Sallamanque et mis[r] Richard Nanfan sur le dict Farnan de Castro. Mes les dicts enbassadeurs se sont acordés que ilz se voulloint logier tous en une maisson ; et pour la grande congnoissance qu'ils avoint dudict Diego de Castro se sont logiés sur ledict Fernan de Castro le quel est oncle dudict Diego de Castro. Et a receu celluy Fernan de Castro lesdicts enbassadeurs moult honnorablement, et les a logiés eulx pour leurs personnes et chescun d'eulx deus ou trois de leurs principaulx serviteurs aveques eulx. Et ausy n'a voullu ledict Fernan de Castro souffrir que Richemond le Roy d'Armes se logast en nul aultre maisson que aveques lui ; ancores n'a voullu ledict Farnan de Castro sinon a fait aulx dicts enbassadeurs faire tous les despens pour leur bouche et pour viij personnes en leur compaignie et leurs chevaulx pour leurs couprs durant le tamps qu'ilz sont demorés et repossé en celle dicte cité en cas parail audict Richemond Roy d'Armes à lui et a ces chevaulx en sa propre maisson. Et le remenant des gens desdicts enbassadeurs estoint logiés en une ostelerie, et là estoint bien logiés. A.D. 1489.

Ces enbassadeurs aryverent en la cité de Bourgous le xxvj[me] jour de Feverier à l'environ de v heures après mydi. Et après qu'ilz estoint arivés en ladicte cité l'espace de deus heures, ariva le docteur de Poeble enbassadeur du dict Roy de Castille, comme sy est devant esperit ; et venoit le dict docteur de Bilbau, car là estoit dessendu à terre hors du royaulme d'Angleterre. Et vient le dict docteur faire la reverence aulx dicts enbassadeurs. Et encontinent que tous avoint communiqués

26 Feb. where they are re-joined by De Poebla,

A.D. 1489. ansamble ledict docteur de Peupble amvoya ung messagier envers les Roys de Castille ces Souverains Senhors à leurs ferre savoir comme les enbassadeurs d'Angleterre estoint arivés à la cité de Bourgus et que leurs plessir fust de lui faire savoir comme il se conduisseres pour les mener par devers leurs graces. Et là les dicts enbassadeurs sont demorés juques à ce que estui docteur de Peuplle a eu responce des dicts Roys. Et pource que auchuns à la venture feroint feculte pource que je parle des Roys et que auchunnes gens pourront mussir et dire "Comment, ail deus Roys en Castille?" Nenny, mes je espcris Roys pource que le Roy est Roy de par la Royne par voye de mariage, et pource ilz se dient Roys et se espcrivent en leurs lettres "De par le Roy et la Royne," car elle en est la heritière.

Et pour revenir à mon premier pourpos de ceste journée, les dicts embassadeurs sont atendus en ladicte cité de Bourgous en attendand la responce des Roys. Et en ce pendant que ilz aynsy sont atendus la responce des Roys, vray est que ceulx marchans deladicte cité qui aultre fois avoint anté le royaulme d'Angleterre firent à ces ambassadeurs grandes festes et chiere. Et à leur venue en la dicte cité le prieur et les consollos à tout ladicte compaignie des dicts marchans leurs amvoierent ung grant present, assavoir, de chars de chevreulx, chapons, conins, perdris, espiceries, confeccions, et vin blanc et rouge à grant quantité. Ceulx senhors et officiers de la cité, après qu'ilz seurent que ces dicts enbassadeurs estoint logés aveques cestui honnorable bourgois Farnan de Castro, ilz amvoierent es hosteleries dela ville à logier leurs serviteurs en commandant es osteliers que d'eulx ilz ne prengussent nul argent pour leurs logis.

and entertained by the merchants who had been in England.

Après que ces enbassadeurs avoint esté en la cité de Bourgous l'espace de viij jours en attendant le bon plessir des Roys, à eulx vient ung chevalier le quell les dicts Roys amvoierent devers eulx, le quell avoit nom Sieur Rodrigo de Mercado, et estoit baillif general

du Royaulme de Mourcia en le Royaulme et frontières de Garnade. Cestui chevalier donna les salutacions à ces enbassadeurs de par les Roys ces Souverains Senhoris et leurs dict que le Roy leurs anvoioit dire que ilz estoint les bien venus en leurs[1] Royaulme. Cestui chevallier aporta lettres aulx gouverneurs de Bourgous depar les Roys que incontinent veu celles ilz leurs sargoit que ilz fissent provission de tant de chevaulx [et[2]] mulles[3] comme[4] les dicts enbassadeurs auroint mestier, comme ilz firent bien honnorablement aulx despens du Roy tout entierement. Ausy commanderent les Roys à ceulx de ladicte cité qu'ilz fissent tout l'onneur aulx dicts embassadeurs que possible leurs estoit, tant comme sy leurs propres personnes ifussent. Le vj^me^ jour de Mars sont venus les estas deladicte cité de Bourgos aulx enbassadeurs et sont venus faire la reverence aulx enbassadeurs. Et oultre ce leurs ont amvoiés ung present de vin et confitures et aultres espiceries.

A.D. 1489.

6 March.

Et le vij^me^ jour sont partis ses enbassadeurs de la cité de Bourgos en tirant par devers les Roys, et ont bien honnorablement esté convoié des principaulx marchans de la cité bien ung quart de lieue hors de la cité, et là se sont expediés et partis des enbassadeurs. Et les enbassadeurs prindrent leur chemin et allerent faire la colacion, c'estàdire repestre[5] en une bourgade nommeé Ville Neuve qui est à cinc lieues dela cité de Bourgous, et delà sont allés couchier en une aultre bourgade nommée Reviefle Vallegeire qui est a trois lieuas delà Ville Neuva. En laquelle bourgade ilz ont esté tres mal logiés, le pijs que james hommes n'eurent. Et la première salutacion que les enbassadeurs eurent de

They leave Burgos, 7 March.

Meet with an uncivil hostess.

[1] *son*, corrected.

[2] Omitted in MS.

[3] *et somsers*, struck out with the pen.

[4] *ils auroint*, struck out with the pen.

[5] *faire . . repestre* altered from *couchier celle nuit*.

A.D. 1489. leur hostesse ou ilz estoint logiés estoit que elle leur demanda qui les avoit fait sy hardis de venir en sa maison sans son congié? que leur dict que ilz se allassent hors de sa maison de par tous les grans diables, paillars qu'ilz estoint. Et vesy la première salutacion de leur hostesse en celle ville de Revilhe Vaillegiere. A tous ces paroles les dicts enbassadeurs prindrent pacience pour celle nuit, car force leurs estoit, car ilz n'avoint aultre chois. Et landemain ilz estoint bien matin levés, et allerent disner, qui estoit le viij jour, en une ville qui a nom Torre Keymada, qui est à trois lieuas de la Reville Vaillegier. Et de Torre Keymada sont allés couchier à une ville nommée Doynas, qui est à iiij lieuas de la Torre Keymada; là sont demorés toute celle nuit. Et hent souppé celle nuit aveques celly chevalier que les Roys avoint amvoiés pardevers eulx, nommé Sieur Rodrigo de Mercade.

Et landemain, qui estoit le ix jour, sont partis dela ville de Doynas apres qu'ilz ont desyunnéy, et sont allés faire la collacion en une borgada nommée Cabeçon qui est dela Doynnas iiij lieuas. Et delà sont partijs apres la collacion faicte et sont allés couchier à la cité de Vailladolit, ou on leurs fist entendre que par le chemin ilz seroint remcontrés hors dela cité des citetiens, car aynsy les Rois l'avoint commandés; pourtant les dicts citotiens n'en firent riens, mes les vindrent saluer et faire la reverence en leurs logijs. Et estoint logiés en celle cité de Vailladolit sur ung marchant nommé Ruy Gonçalvijz de Portilho, le quèll estoit mis en prison et acussé pour ung heretique. Et avoint les Roys aresté tout ces biens, pour la quelle cause les embassadeurs ont esté tres mal logiés et traitis lyens; mais après on leurs fist avoir des lijs et toutes aultres choses necessaires en la ville des aultres maissons. Ausy ont ceulx de la cité amvoié ung present à messieurs les enbassadeurs, assavoir marchepains et sucades et vin blanc, deux sacks de quir plains.

Arrive at Valladolid,

A.D. 1489. and proceed towards Medina del Campo, 12 March.

Ces enbassadeurs se sont tenus en la cité de Vailladollit le space de trois jours. Et sont partis devers Medine del Campo ou les Roys estoint le xij jour de Mars, et sont allés disner à iiij lieuas delà Vailldolit en ung villaige nommé le Pont de Valdastilhas, et est à aultres iiij lieus de Medine. Et en cestui villayge ont trowey le Petijt Salasart qui leurs vient faire la reverence et prendre congié d'eulx, car il estoit venu en enbassade le Bastard Bauduin de Lyle et lui de par le Roy des Romains vers les Roys de Castille. Apres disner prindrent les embassadeurs leur chemyn vers la ville de Medine ou les Roys estoint. Et par le chemin furent rencontrés par troys fois. La premiere fois estoyt à ung quart de lieue deladicte ville ; et furent rencontrés par le vesque de Malique, le docteur de Tallavera, le secretaire Fernand Alverez, Allonsso de Kyntanilha, et aultres plusseurs chevaliers et escuiers et aultres gentijlz hommes. A la seconde rencontrée furent rencontrés par le vesque de Palence, le grant commandeur de Lion, le vesque de Sygovia, Rodrigo Dolhoa Grand Mestre des Cortes de Castilha. Et au troissieme rencontre furent rencontrés par le duc d'Alboquerque, le conte de Haron connestable de Castille, le duc de Palence, le conte de Benavente, le admiral de Castille, Don Bernarduo de Blasquo filz aysné du connestable, don Sancho de Blasquo frere[1] dudict connestable, le vesque de Cida Rodrigo, le compte de Ribadania et aultres plusseurs nobles et grans personnaiges, et chevaliers et escuiers et gens de bien. Et ainsy sont entrés en ladicte ville et ont estés conduis juques à leur logis le quel estoit hordonné pour eulx deus bien honnorablement tendu de bonne tapicerie et leurs chambres bien amrués et aguissés que riens leur failloit de lijs, linceulx et aultres estoffaiges apartenant à telles choses.

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[1] *filz second*, corrected.

A.D. 1489. Where they have audience of the King and Queen, 14 March.

Les dicts enbassadeurs estoit en la ville de Medine l'espace de deux jours avant qu'il parlerent aulx Roys et urent audience. Et le troissieme jour, qui estoit le xiiij jour de mars les Roys les amvoierent querirs pour de presenter leurs lettres. Et les vyndrent querire le vesque de Oveido et le vesque de Maliga; les quels conduissoint mis^r Richard Nanfan, l'ung à la destre et l'aultre à la cenestre. Et le docteur Sauvaige fut mené par le conte de Monte-Rey, et le Grant Commandadeur de Callatrava allerent aveques le dorteur mester Sauvaige, et apres aultres seigneurs, chevaliers et grant personnaiges à ung grant nombre. Et aveques Richemond Roy d'Armes[1] alloit ung chevalier nommé Sieur Rodrigo de Mercado et mis^r Jehan de Sepoulveda, lequell Richemond chevaulcha devant lesdicts enbassadeurs à une riche cotte d'armes vestue sur luy bordrée richement des armes d'Angleterre.

Account of the interview.

Il estoit à l'environ de vij heures au soir avant que ces dicts enbassadeurs furent amvoiés querir, et estoit le jour failly; mes a grant force de torches on les vient querir. Quant ces enbassadeurs furent aynsy menés au paillais ou les Roys estoint, ilz trouverent les Roys en une grande salle assis desoubz ung riche drap d'or d'estat. Et au my lieu du dict drap d'estat ung escuchon esquartellé des armes de Castille et d'Aragon. Et le Roy vestu d'une riche roube de drap d'or tissu tout en or, et fourré d'une riche fourrure de fynnes sablynes; et la Royne assysse au pres delui, vestue d'une riche roube faite à la mode du pays comme les dammes du Royaulme sont accoustumés de porter du meme drap d'or tissu que le Roy estoit vestu. Et sus ladicte roube une mantelyne d'ung velours noir tout ageihé et grans trous affin que le drap d'or de quoy elle estoit vestue se monstrast tout desoubz ledicts vellours; et sur la dicte

[1] In the top margin of the MS. here occur the words "Les premiere fois qu'ilz furent menés au Roy."

mantelyne une roye pas royé mais faicte comme une maniere de roye toute fayte en billettes de la longeur d'ung doy et de la largeur de demy doy, tout d'or massis. Et chacune byllette garny de fynnes pierres precieulxses, la plus riche chose que jamay nulz hommes virent le parayl. Ladicte Royne estoit sayngcte d'une senture de quir blanc fayte à la mode que les hommes sont acoustumés de porter ; la quelle centure estoit garnie la gebeciere d'ung grant ballais dela grandeur d'ung esteus entre cinc riches diamans et aultres pierres presieusses dela grandeur d'une feve. Et la senture ensuivant d'aultres plusseurs grandes pierres precieusses à grant nombre. Elle avoit au col ung riche collier d'or tout de rosses blanches et rouges. Et chacune rosse garnie d'une grande pierre presieusse. Aultre ce elle avoyt deux rebons pendent de chacun costé de sa poitryne garnis de grans diamans, ballais, rubys, perles, et aultres plusseurs pierres presieusses et de grant valleur juques au nombre de ung cent ou plus. Sur tout ceste abillement elle avoyt ung demy manteau vestu au cousté senestre jetté à travers d'ung fyn cramoissyn satin fourré d'ermynes qui estoyt beau à veoyr et fort luissant. Elle estoyt tout nu teste, fors tant seullement le chief derriere d'une petijte coyffe de plessance sans aultre chosse. Certes, comme je quide, et ausy comme je pour lors ouy dire je estyme que les abillemens que elle avoit pour lors sur elle estoint dela valleur de ij.c. mille escus d'or. A.D. 1489.

Ces Rois estoynt accompaingniés de plusseurs grans princes, comme le conte de Haron, Connestable de Castille, le duc d'Albourquerque, le duc de Plassence, le conte de Benavente, le cardinal de Castille (le quell je doys nommer pour le primier, car il estoyt assis au plus près de la Royne sur le mesmes banc), le Grant Commandadeur, l'admiral de Castille, le conte de Ribaden, le conte de Ribadania, le Grant Commandadeur de Calatrave et aultres plusseurs grans contes, barons, Grandees at the court.

A.D. 1489. evesques, chevaliers, escuiers, et plusseurs aultres nobles persoses[1] à ung grant nombre. La Royne estoit accompaigné de xxxvij grandes dammes et damoisselles et de grant sanc, toutes richement abilliés àla mode du pays et en drap d'or à plusseurs aultres richesses lesquelles me seroyent trop longues à raconter.

Je retourne à mes dicts enbaissadeurs. Pour faire fin, mis^r Richard Nanfan presenta la première lettre au Roy et lui baissa la mayn avant qu'il lui presenta la lettre. Et le docteur Sauvaige apres que mis^r Richard Nanfan avoit baissé las mains d'eux deus Roys, le docteur Sauvayg fist en cas parayl. Et à pres que ledict docteur avoit baissé les mains il presenta une aultre lettre à la Royne. Et avant qu'il la presenta fist une petijtte collacion à la Royne de xx ou xxx mos. Et apres ceste collacion faite ilz tous deux furent commandés soy seoir devant les Roys. Et Richemond fut commandé par le Roy soy tenir à pié deriere leurs doos. Et là ledict docteur fist une tresbelle et honorable prepossicion tout en latin, de la quelle il fut moult louué et pressé des grans seigneurs et prelas qui y estoint, et en eut bien grant honneur; la quelle prepossicion vous ores sy apres plus à plain par esperit. Apres que ladite prepossicion estoit faicte le Roy appella le cardinal, le connestable, le duc d'Alborquerq, le conte de Benavente et le vesque de Cida Rodrigo au consail. Et la ledict evesque de Cida Rodrigo fut commandé de respondre aulxdicts enbassadeurs sur la prepossicion que ledict docteur avoit faicte, comme il fist. Mes le bon evesque estoit si viel et avoyt perd tous ces dens que à grant payne on peult entendre ce qu'il dissoit. Et apres que ceste responce fut faicte les dicts enbassadeurs prindrent leur congié du Roy et se partirent aynssy accompayngniés

[1] Sic in MS.

juques à leurs logis des mesmes seygneurs qui les estoint allés querir. Et estoint bien pres deux heures de nuit apant qu'ilz estoint revenus de la court du Roy. A.D. 1489.

Et landemayn,[1] qui estoit le xv jour de Mars, les enbassadeurs furent amvoiés querir pour aller de rechief devers les Roys pour faire la remonstrance de leurs enbassades pour quoy ilz estoint venus. Et les vyndrent querir les mesmes seigneurs qui les avoint conduit le soir devant. Et estoit au soir à vj heures. Et là les dicts enbassadeurs communiquerent par l'espace de une heure aveques les Roys, eulx et les enbassadeurs que les dicts Roys avoint amvoié par avant en Angleterre, assavoir le dict docteur de Poyble et mis^r Jehan de Sepoulveda. Le Roy estoit pour lors vestu d'une roube de velours cramoissin fourrée de sablines à ung collier d'or de bon pris, tout fait de [* *[2]] en façon de l'eches, et la Royne estoit abillié de ung riche drap d'or tissu et desus unge manteline comme devant de velours noir, et pardessus une royée de or batu semmé de rosses rouges et blanche d'or batu. Et en cheschune rosse garnie de riches pierres presieusses. Elle avoit à son col ung riche collier garny tout de grans baillais et carboncles et de grant valleur. Second audience, 15 March.

Apres que les dicts enbassadeurs avoint fait ce que pour lors ilz avoint à remonstrer aulx Roys ilz desirerent aulx dicts Roys que ilz leur pleut de leur grace de leurs faire veoir le prince et la fille aynée (nommée la Infanta donna Issabella) et toutes les aultres filles, pour leur faire la reverence, comme de droyt ilz estoint tenus de faire. Et les Roys leur respondirent que pour lors ilz vollentiers verroint le prinsse et sa seur La Infanta, et que ung aultre jour ilz verroint

[1] Here in the under margin is written "La seconde fois."

[2] A word omitted in MS.

A.D. 1489. les aultres princesses. Et sur ces parolles dictes le dict Roy appella le conestable de Castylle à lui et lui commanda d'aller querir le prince et sa seur la Infante, comme il fist. Et incontynent il alla et les mena tous deux amsamble en la chambre ou les Roys estoint. Et estoit le prince abillié d'unne roube de ung riche velours cramoissin fyguré et fourré de hermines et ung chapeau sur sa teste, noir à la mode de France, à une cornette de pourpre fort estroitte, tout agghée comme une branche de ung arbre. Et la Infante estoit abillié d'une cettelle de drap d'or. Et de sus une roube àla mode du pays à un grant trayn d'ung velours vert bien riche, et sur son chief une coiffe faitte de fil dorré et de soye noyre en maniere d'une reeye, toute garnije de perles et aultres pierres precieusses. Et estoit ledict Roy acompaygnié comme le soir d'avant de[1] plusseurs prelas et aultres grans princes, contes, barons, chevaliers, escuiers, et plusseurs aultres grans personages, et la Royne d'une doussayne de dames et damoisselles. Et la Infante entra accompaignié de quatre damoiselles. Et là les dicts enbassadeurs allerent faire la reverence audict prince et sa seur la Infante, et lui baisserent les mayns. Et le docteur Sauvaige fist une petijte araynghe audict prince. Et apres prindrent leurs congiés et s'en retounerent à leur logis acompaigniés des mesmes personnaiges qui les estoint venus querir juques à leur logis.

Third audience. 19 March. Le xix jour de Mars[2] les dicts enbassadeurs furent amvoiés querir par les mesmes Senhors spirituelz et temporelz qui acoustumé estoint les venir acompaignier; et leurs dirent que les Roys vollent qu'ilz allassent aulx completes aveque[3] heulz en leurs chapelle. Et aynsy le

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[1] *de* repeated in MS.

[2] "La troissieme fois qu'ilz parlerent auls Roys," MS., top margin.

[3] *qlaveque*, MS.

firent; et entrant en la chapelle trouverent les Roys tous deus assys en la courtine, la quelle estoit de drap d'or bien riche, et tout ce que apartenet à leurs estaat; et la chapelle toute tendue de belle et riche tapicherie, et l'aultel bien richement ahourné et mis en point. Apres que les completes estoint dictes le Roy print les dicts enbassadeurs aveques lui, l'ung a sa mayn destre et l'aultre à la cenestre, et Richemond au devant de lui. Et apres venoit derière lui la Reyne, la quelle le cardenal de Castille mena. Et ensy entrerent en une grande salle, en la quelle ilz trouverent toutes les damoisselles de la Royne dansçant aveques les nobles et gentijlz hommes de sa maison. Et la le Roy et la Royne se alerent seur à veoir la danse, et firent seoir les dicts embassadeurs du costé à leurs mains destre, et les princes et seigneurs qui estoint en sa court à la main cenestre. Et apres que ainsy ilz estoint assis les Reys amvoierent querir la princesse dame Isabel leur fille aynée pour venir à la dance; et elle vient moult bien et richement abillié et se assit pres le Roy son pere à sa main destre ung petijt loyng de lui. A.D. 1489.

Certes c'estoyt une riche veuue de veoir la Reyne abillié et la fille aussy, et xxvj dames et damoiselles toutes filles de grans seigneurs (et la maidre qui y estoit, estoit fille de Haron); toutes la plus part d'elles abilliés en drap d'or et velours et drap de soye bien richement. La Royne estoit toute vestue en drap d'or, une coiffe de fil d'or sus la teste à ung beau collier à son col tout garny de grans perles et au my lieu de grans diamans, gros et beaulx. Et là furent les dicts enbassadeurs juques à x heures. Et alors commanderent les Roys à la princesse leur fille qu'ell ala dancer une dance. Et elle incontinent se leva et alla prendre une damoisselle laquell estoit Portingalloisse; et pource en la court elle n'avoit aultre nom que la Portingalloisse, et estoit celle que ladicte princesse

A.D. 1489. ayme le plus. Laquelle damoisselle estoit fort gorgiaisse, et dansça aveques elle. Et apres que elle avoit dansçée et retournée à son lieu les embassadeurs prindrent leurs congiés des Roys et furent conduis à leurs logis comme par avant, et des mesmes seygneurs.

Jousts in honour of the ambassadors. 22 March.

Le xxij^me^ jour de mars[1] furent faites unes belles et riches justes pour l'onneur des enbassadeurs. Et estoint les justeurs mayntenans des listes, noble homme nommé don Pedro de Tolledo, et le secont don Diego de Connha, contre tous allans et venans. Et estoint les aventureurs don Hanrique Hanrique, ung aultre nommé Pedraires, don Diego de Velasquo, ung nommé Carnajal; lequell pour celle fois eut le pris, car il courut le myeulx et ronpit plus de lances. Jehan de Valasco ausy le fit bien. Don Martin de Connha le fist bien pour deus outrois cours, et apres il se partist des listes et fut le premier que saillit hors des listes. Innigo Lopis de Mendoça, Jehan de Lasquez le fist tres bien et ronpit quatre lances bien et apres se en partist. Don Diego Salvamonto le fit bien pour deux ou trois couprs. Don Francisque de le Vantado de Andaluzia, Jannot de Visque et don Pedro de Castilha, le quel vient moult richement abillié et ausy apres cellui qui eut le pris le fist lle myeulx comme noble chevalier. Tous ces nobles hommes saillirent fort richement abilliés, et la plus part d'eulx avoint houcheures de drap d'or bien riche. Et eussent plus longuement joustés, mes dedens une heure après qu'il estoint entrés en les listes vient une sy grande pluye que force estoit de rompre toute la liste,[2] et les Roys soy retirer.

Les Roys bien honnorablement avoint ordonnés que les enbassadeurs estoint menés au plus pres

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[1] *La tierse foys*, MS. margin. | [2] *fiste*, MS.

d'eulx, et sur le mesme escarafault. Et là n'estoint A.D. 1489.
aultres que les Roys, le Prince, et la Infante damme Issabeau leurs fille aynée, et le cardinal de Castille. Et avoint les dicts Roys ordonnés que les dicts enbassadeurs fussent les premiers sur le dict escarravaulx affin qu'ilz vissent les Rois venir à tout leurs estas es listes. Et est vray que moult richement et somptueussement vindrent, et estoit beau à veyoir. Le Roy avoit devant lui chevaulchant tous les nobles de sa court chevauchant devant lui, et la plus part d'eulx abilliés à la mode de France le plus pres qu'ilz poyoint, et bien montés, et apres euls iiij sargans d'armes. Et apres les sargans d'armes vindrent les heraulx, les quelz estoint quatre, assavoir Richemond Roy d'Armes du Roy d'Angleterre, lequell fut mené à la mayn destre de Castille Roy d'Armes de Castille; et devant eulx alla Aragon Roy d'Armes, le quell mena Snoudon Herault du Roy d'Escosse. Et entre eulx et l'espée du Roy vient le prince de Castille, le quel estoit vestu d'une riche roube de drap d'or et ung chaperon dela vielle mode sur sa teste de velours noir. Et avoit à son col une riche huchure tout garny de gros ballais et aultres pierres precieusseus. Et apres le prince vient cellui qui portait l'espée, le quell estoit nommé mis^r * * *[1], le quell estoit monté sur ung beau jennet. Et apres vient le Roy monté sur ung beau courssier tout garny de horfaverie. Et estoit le Roy vestu d'une roube de drap d'or fourée d'ermines à ung grant collet couchant ranversé à la mode d'Allemainha, et ung porfil large fourré du mesmes.

Apres le Roy vient la Royne monté sur une belle mulle. Et tous les arnes deladicte mulle garny de perles et aultres pierres precieusses. Et elle vestue

[1] Blank in MS.

A.D. 1489. de une roube à la mode du royaulme de ung riche drap d'or ticheu. Et sur celle une mantellyne toutte aggheyé en losainges de velours cramoissyn et noir. Et sur chescunne losainge une grosse margaritte. Et cheschun de celles margarittes ung riche ballais de la grosseur d'une fesuna la plus riche chosse à veoir que james homme ne vist le parail. Ella avoit a son col ung grant collier tout carny de grans diamans ballais carbouches grans perles et aultres riches pierres precieusses à grant nombre. Elle avoit sur la coiffe de sa teste pendant deus ballais dela grandeur de ung heuf de colom, et au bout des dicts ballais une grosse perle, lequell jueaul fut istimé qu'il vald[r]oyt bien xij mille escus. Et en conclusion que le abillement qu'elle a voit cellui jour sur elle, il n'est homme qui bonnement ne saroit istimer qu'il pourroit valloir, tant riche estoit. Et fut la Royne mennée par le cardenal de Castille. Apres la Royne vient la Infante, la fille aynée, la quelle estoit abillié toute en riche drap d'or de grant valleur, et ausy a son coll ung riche collier tout garny de grandes pierres precieusses. Et apres elle saillirent xxxvj dammes et grandes damoisselles, et toutes de grant sanc, et toutes abilliés de drap d'or, mes non pas tous d'une livrée mes tout au contraire l'une de l'autre, tant riche et belle chose à veoir que c'estoit marvelles; la chose de la richesse de coy ces dammes estoint abilliés seroit une chose trop longe à racompter. Mes je veux revenir à aultres chose. Apres que les joustes estoint fynies les Roys revindrent au pallais, et menerent aveques eulx lex enbassadeurs, et entrerent en[1] une grant salle. Et la se assirent desoubz ung riche drap d'estat de ung riche velours

[1] Here the writer in turning the leaf appears to have passed over two pages, which he afterwards filled with the account of the ambassadors' fourth audience (See page 180.)

cramossin et brodré richment des armes de Castille et d'Aragon et poudré dela devisse du Roy, lequell est ung * * *[1], et son mot esperit tout de lonc, le quell mot est "Tantos monta." A.D. 1489.

Et apres que les Roys estoint assys le prince se assist à sa main destre et la Infante ce assist d'aupres sa mère à sa main cenestre; et d'aupres elle estoit assys le Cardinal. Et apres on fit seoir un poy plus bas au cousté destre du Roy les dicts enbassadeurs sur ung banc; et de l'aultre cousté de la Royne estoint assis le conte de Haron conestable de Castille et le conte de Benavente et aultres. Et apres commencerent les menestrens à sonner, et dancerent les dames aveques les justeurs, les quellz estoint bien richement abilliés et disguissés; et dancèrent juques à x heures. Et apres qu'il estoit sonné dix le Roy commanda au prinsce qu'il alast dancer, comme il fist, et dança tres bien aveques une dammoisselle laquelle il avoit soissy pour sa dame par amours, laquelle avoit nom * *[1] et estoit fille de * * *[1] Et apres que le prince avoit dancé alla dancer la Infante, laquelle print sa Portingaleisse et dansça aveques elle; et toutes les damoisselles ainsamble de deus à deux dancerent en sa compaignie une basse dance. Et après qu'elle avoit dancé celle basse dance la dance cessa pour celle nuit; et se retirerent hors dela salle toutes les dames et damoisselles. Mes les Roys et le Prince et la Infante donne Issabelle demorerent aynsy assys en leurs plasses. Et là fut la table misse devant eulx. Et porteren l'eaue es mayns aulx Roys. Et quant on aporta l'eaue le prince se leva dela tabla, et alla tenir la touaille à son pere et à la Royne sa mère. Et apres s'alla seoir à son lieu pres de son pere à sa main destre ung poy bas ver le bout de la table, et le porta on l'eaue. Et en cas pareil à sa seur la Infante. Et apres qu'elle

[1] Blank in MS.

A.D. 1488. avoit lavé on fist laver les enbassadeurs, les queulx estoint assys pres la Infante au coyng dela table. Et la furent servis de grandes et diversses viandes à grant quantité. Et estoit une riche chose à veoir de la vasselle d'argent, qui estoit assys sur la table et de grande valleur. Aussy estoit une riche chosse à veoir la richesse du bouffet. Après que le souper fut fait incontinent les enbassadeurs furent commandés de prendre leur congié et furent conduis à leurs logis, comme devant est escript. Et estoit à l'environ de une heure apres my nuit avant que tout se fut retiré.

Fourth audience, 24 March.

Item, le xxiiij^me^ jour de mars les Roys ont amvoié querir les dicts enbassadeurs. Et estoit la vaille de Notre Dame de Mars, et allerent aulx completes. Et apres allerer aveques les Roys en une gallerie la quelle estoit bien tendue de bonne tapicherie. Et la trouverent les jeunes princesses, assavoir donne Marie et notre princesse d'Angleterre donne Katerine. Le Roy et la Royne entrerent et se alleren seoir, le prince assis à terre devant lui, et sa fille aynée devant lui, et apres ces aultres filles en suivant. Et de dire que la Royne estoit bien richement abiellié, sy estoit; et toutes ces filles en cas parayl. Et avoiynt les dicts deus filles, assavoir la Infante donne Marie, et la Infante donne Katerine princesse de Angleterre, xiiij damoisselles toutes nobles dames bien abilliés tous en drap d'or et toutes filles de grans seigneurs. Et la plus vielle ne passoit pais de l'ayge de xiiij ans. C'estoit une belle veuue à veoir de la richesse de leurs abillemens. Et apres que ces dicts jeunnes damoisselles avoint aynsy dancé deux à deux une grande pausse les Roys commanderent à leur fille la Infante donne Marie qu'elle allast dancer, comme elle fist. Et alla prendre une aultre dammoisselle de son ayge et de sa grandeur et la mena à dancer. Et aynsy dança celle dame une basse et haulte dance. Et apres que cella fut fait ne dancerent plus riens. Mes ledict enbassadeurs prindren leur congié et s'en aller à leur logis, et estoint conduyts

comme paravant estoint acoustumés d'estre menés. Certes je[1] quide que jamais nulz enbassadeurs ne saillirent que plus d'onner leur furent fait, comme a esté fait à ces dicts enbassadeurs en toutes manieres de choses. On parle de l'onner que en fait es enbassadeurs en Angleterre: certes ce n'est pas à comparer à l'onner que on fait aulx enbassadeurs au royaulme de Castille, et en especial au temps de ces nobles Roys et Royne. A.D. 1489.

Et le xxvme jour[2] de ce mesmes mois de mars les dicts Roys à l'onneur de ces enbassadeurs firent une aultre feste, assavoir de faire courre des teaurreaulx. Et apres ce sallirent à l'environ de cent chevaliers et aultres nobles hommes, les quelz estoint bien montés sur beaulx jenets et escarmucherent et courrirent aveques des cannes à la mode comme ilz se combatent aveques les Sarasins, la quelle chose estoit beau à veoir. Et les Roys et le prince et trois des fils desdicts Roys estoint sur ledict escarafaulx. Et les enbassadeurs aupres d'eulx. Et estoit beau à veoir comme la Royne tenoit sa fille la plus jeuune sur son haule,[3] laquelle estoit la Infante donne Katerine princesse de Gales, et pour lors elle estoit de l'ayge de trois ans. Après que tout cestui esbatement estoit fait le Roy et la Royne se retirerent et prindrent les enbassadeurs aveques lui; et allerent en la grant salle et là commencerent les dames et damoisselles à dancer aveques les jentilz hommes que aveint fait le deduit des dicts cannes et tourreaulx.

25 March

A bull-fight in honor of the ambassadors.

Le Roy pour lors esteit abillié d'une roupe de drap noir et les manches houvertes. Et estoit la manche cenestre deladicte roube bordrée de grands ballais et de grosse perles et riches. Et avoit à son coll ung beau collier de r.[4] Et la Royne estoit abillié d'une

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[1] *je*, repeated in MS.

[2] *La quarte foys*, MS. margin.

[3] *haule*, *haube*, or *hanbe ?* MS.

[4] Sic. Probably the author intended to write *riches*, with a substantive to follow.

A.D. 1489. riche roube de vert satin et losange en brodrie et ouvré del'egulle fort richement. Et par alentour du collet deladicte roube en maniere de collier une bordure dela largeur de deus dois, tout de grosses pierres precieusses et de grosses perles. Et le porfil et les manches estoint trainnans juques à terre et fauduens[1]; et estoint de ung velours cramoissin, et coussu par dessus des grosses lectres d'or batu de la longuer d'un quart de verge, et estoit son mot; et sur scheschun lettre garnie de grosses perles, et la plus riche chose que jamais ne fut veu. Le prince estoit abillié d'une courte roube juques à la braiette et chauché dunes chauches noires et solliés alonges pointes à-la vielle mode. Et la dicte roube bordreiyé du mesmes mot dela Royne et celles lettres d'or batu. Et avoit ung chaperon fait en rolle à la ville mode de ung veleurs noir. Et la Infante donne Issabel estoit abillié d'une roube de drap d'or de vert à ung beau collier d'or et riche; et ne lui failloint point de grosses et riches pierres precieusses. La tierce fille nommé donne Marie, laquelle est mariée ou espoussée au duc Phelippe de Austriche, laquelle estoit abillié de ung riche drap d'or de gris. Et ausy ne lui failloint point de bonnes et riches joyes de pierres precieusses. Et touchant de les abillemens et richesses des dames et damoisselles je ne le vous saroye pas mettre en escript, car je ne le saroie pas escrire en ung an, les desguissement et des richesses de leurs changes qu'ilz ont eu vestus achescunne fois que cestes festes ont durés. Et pource je ne saroye tant dire qu'il ne soit beaucop plus.

26 March. Le xxvj^me^ jour de[2] mars lesdicts enbassadeurs estoint amvoiés querir pour faire fin de les conclussions de telles choses comme ilz avoint a faire. Mais pour ce

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[1] Or *fanduens?*

[2] *de*, repeated in MS.

qu'il y failloit ung[1] articles es espcritures qui estoint faites sur les matieres qui estoint entre les deus Roys, pour celle nuit ilz ne se seurent acorder les dicts enbassadeurs aveques les commissaires du Roy. Et landemain, qui estoit le xxvij^me^ jour de mars sont allés de rechief devers les Roys, et ont conclus toutes leurs matieres. Et là les Roys ont esté sermentés sur ung livre de tenir ferme et bon tout ce que là avoynt concleu entre heulx et mon Souverain Seigneur le Roy Hanry d'Angleterre le vij de son nom. Et apres que ces dicts Roys ainsy avoint fait le serment, les dicts enbassadeurs prindrent leurs congiés des Roys et de monseigneur le prince, et de toutes le princesses les filles; et apres se fait les Roys voulloint que les dicts enbassadeurs les conduissent hors de la ville, comme ilz firent. Et Dieu soit se ilz partirent hors de la ville de Medine bien ponpeussement. Et chevaulcha le Roy et monseigneur le prince son filz ansamble. Et print le Roy mester Nanfant à son cousté destre et le docteur Sauvaige à l'autre cousté cenestre de monseigneur le prince. Et ainsy partirent amsamble. Et la Royne et les princesses aveques les aultres dames et damoiselles vindrent apres à grant nombre. Ces enbassadeurs conduirent les dicts Roys environ de deus trets d'arc hors de la ville, et là le Roy leurs commanda de soy retourner. Et là les dicts enbassadeurs prindrent leur congié de rechief, et baisserent les mains au Roy, la Royne, et monseigneur le prince et à touts les aultres princesses les filles du Roy, et prindrent ausy leur congié de monseigneur le Cardinal, et ainsy se departirent. Et furent les dicts embassadeurs conduits à la dicte ville de rechief par plusseurs nobles prelas et docteurs et chevaliers, et escuiers juques au nombbre de cent chevaulx.

A.D. 1489.

27 March.

They take their leaves of the King and Queen.

Le xxviij jour de Mars vindrent les recheveurs du Roy aulx dicts enbassadeurs et leurs aporterent les

Presents received by them, 28 March.

[1] *ung*, repeated in MS.

A.D. 1488. dons que les Roys leurs avoint ordonnés à donner, c'est assavoir que les dicts Roys leurs donna à cheschun d'eulx, assavoir ung coursier nommé en cellui Royaulme de Castille ung cheval bard, et ung jenet morisque et deux mules iiij[1], x verge de draps de soies et lx mars d'argent à cheschun d'eux; et à Richemond donnerent xxv verges de drap de soye et une mule, et à Jehan Nanfant, filz bastart de monsieur Richard Nanfan, eut autant comme le dict Richemond. Et ainsy se expedierent les dicts enbassadeurs des deputés qui estoint assinés pour leurs delivrance, assavoir le docteur Taillaveire, le secretaire Farnand-Alvarez, et ung nommé don Diego de Guynar, qui pour lors fut ordonné de aller en Angleterre, et le docteur de Poyble et Jehan de Sepoulvede chevalier de la maisson du Roy. Et là demourerent en la dicte ville de Medine lesdicts enbassadeurs par l'espace de iiij jours apres que les Roys estoint partis. Et le derrain jour de mars sommes partis de la dicte ville de Medine en vers Portugal; et sommes aller disner en ung villaige delà Medine nommé Bobadilhe qui est à trois lieus de là Medine. Et de Bobadille sont allés couchier à une aultre villaige, qui a nom Ragama et est quatre lieuas de Bobadilhe. Et le premier jour d'avril sont partis de Ragama, et sont allés disner à ung villaige nommé Salmoral qui est à aultres iiij lieus de Ragama. De Salmoral sont allés couchier à ung villaige nommé Diogalur, qui sont aultres iiij lieus. De Diogaluere sont partis le ij[me] jour d'avril, et sont allés disner au Pont de Cagosto, qui sont aultre iiij lieus. Et du Pont de Cagosto sont allés couchier à une ville nommeye Beigar de Castamghaur qui sont aultres iiij lieus.

Their departure from Medina for Portugal, 31 March.

1 April.

2 April.

En ceste ville de Beigar hont trouvés les dicts enbassadeurs le duc de Prazencia, lequel estoit arivé le soir

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[1] Qu., a word omitted here?

devant en ladicte ville. Et quant il eut les novelles A.D. 1489.
que les dicts enbassadeurs devoint venir pour cellui soir venir couchier à la ville, il incontinent fist apreparel ung son maison qu'il avoit en ladicte ville. Et la les fit logier, et ausi fist preparer leur souper bien honorablement de bons poissons freche que de mer et de euua douche, et eurent grant chiere. Mes ne parlerent point aveques lui ne levirent, car il estoit pour lors trop tart, mes leurs amvoia dire par son mestre d'ostel que ilz estoint les biens venus, et que toute la chiere que possible lui estoit de leurs faire que il le feroit de tout son bon ceur, et que il congnoissoit bien que la volenté du Roy son souverain seigneur estoit telle qu'il le fist aynsy; et que sy leurs plesir estoit d'eulx repousser en celle ville, que ilz lui feroint ung grant plessir, et que il les meneroit[1] a chacher et voller et leurs feroit tout le deduit et esbatement qu'il leur pourroit faire. Et les dicts enbassadeurs lui respondirent que ilz remercioint sa grace de la grande feste et chiere qu'il leurs avoit fait. Et par son bon plessir il veulloint partir landemain bien matin, comme ilz firent. Et estoit le iij^me^ jour d'avril, et allerent repestre cellui jour à ung villaige qui a nom Aldea Noyva qui sont iiij lieus de Beigar; et de Aldea Noyva sont allés couchier à Vilhar, qui sont trois lieus. Et de Vilhar sont allés à Plazença la cité, qui sont iij lieus.

Et en celle cité de Plazencia sont entrés le iiij^me^ jour 4 April.
d'avril, et là ont trouvé ung aultre chevalier nommé Don Francisquo de Sconniga, oncle du duc de Plazencia. Mes ilz estoint en discort, le duc et lui, porce que cestui Don Francisque avoit prins ladicte cité de Plazencia audict duc et l'avoit donnée au Roy de Castille. Cestui Don Francisque receut ces dicts enbassadeurs en sa maisson moult honnorablement. Et pour

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[1] *mẽroit*, MS.

A.D. 1489. cellui jour demourreren en la dict cité logiés aveques lui en sa maison. Et là disnerent et soupperent en leurs chambres, mes non pas aveques lui pour ce qu'il voulloit tenir compaignie à madame sa femme. Et pource que ce[1] n'est pas la coustume de pais que les femmes ne vienent jamais mangier en la compaignie de estrangiers, pource estoit la cause qu'ilz estoint à par eulx.

5 April. Et landemain qui estoit le dimanche dela Pacion ilz ouirent messe en la mesmes maison. Et apres les messe desinnerent tres bien. Et estoit le vme jour. Et allerent monter à cheval. Et ledict Seigneur Don Francisque mesmes monta sur ung beau jennet et les conduit hors dela cité, et là print son con congiet d'eux. Et cellui soir ilz allerent couchier à une bourgade nommée Canhaveral qui est vij lieus de la Plazencia. Et de Canhaveral là Richemond est party des dicts enbassadeurs, et chevaucha devant pour aller leur venue[2] en la premiere ville du royaulme de Pourtugal. Et le vj^me^ jour au matin se partist et alla repestre en une bonne bourgade nommé Rue de Poirquo; et est à vij lieus de Canhaveral, et a une reviere a passer par bateau, qui est à deus lieus de la Canhaveral, la quelle reviere a nom Teigo. Et court celle reviere juques à la cité de Lixbone au royaulme de Portugal. Et de Rue de Poirquo ledict Richemond est allé couchié cellui soir an ung bois en quoi il ne avoit que deus maissons, qui estoit à v lieus de là Rue de Poirquo, et a nom cellui lieu des deux maison La Vente. De La Vente il est allé disner à une ville nommé Albourquerque qui est a iiij lieus de là La Vente. Et de Alborquerque est allé couchier en la ville de Elvas[3] qui est a vj lieus de Albourquerque. Et cestui Elvas est au Royama de Portugal, une bonne

Richmond leaves the party, 6 April.

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[1] *ce*, repeated in MS.

[2] Sic, a word being evidently omitted after *aller*.

[3] The words *en Portugal* are here interlined in a different ink.

et forte ville. Et ariva le dict Richemond en celle ville de Elvas en Portugal le viij^me^ jour d'avril. Et encontinent qu'il estoit arivé en la dicte ville alla parler aulx gouverneurs delaville à certefier la venue des dicts enbassadeurs et ausy pour ordonner pour leurs logis. Et landemain les dicts gouverneurs hordonnerent les dicts logis pour les dicts enbassadeurs. Et après ce fait le dict Richemond anvoya ung messagier aveques une sa lettre audict Roy de Portugal à lui certefier comme les dicts enbassadeurs estoint entrés en son royaulme. Et c'estoit le viij^me^ jour d'avril.

A.D. 1489. and enters Portugal, 8 April.

Et le ix jour d'avril les dicts enbassadeurs entrerent en ceste dicte ville de Elvas à heure de mydi. Et en celle ville de Elvas sont demeurés juques à ce que ils ayunt nouvelles du Roy et de son bon plaissir. Vray est que ence pendant que ces enbassadeurs estoynt en la ville de Elvas, incontinent que ilz estoint arivés il[1] leurs amvoya ung present, assavoir ung sarge de vin et trois sarges de horge pour le chevaulx et ung grant plat de confits et ung aultre de friture faite àla guisse du pays; et leurs fist prier que ilz leurs pleut de lui pardonner que il ne les estoit point allés encontrer au chemin, et le fist pourceque le coustume du pais est tel que quant la famme ou aultre parent du gentijll homme meurt que les prochains parens et amis gardent la maison ung certains jours, et ainsy le faissoit cestui gentijl homme. Apres que cestui gentijl homme avoit anvoié sont present, lequell avoit nom Ruy Dabreu, capitaine du chastel de ceste dicte ville, ung aultre gentijl homme, coussin jermain de cestui gentijl homme capitayne du chastel, nommé Leones Pesteuna, qui estoit capitaine de la ville, amvoia aulxdicts enbassadeurs ung present, assavoir vin et fruittaille et confits et aultres plaissanças. Et apres tout ce amvoia la ville ung present aulx dicts enbas-

His colleagues follow, 9 April.

[1] Sic, without an antecedent; for the words "cestui gentijl homme" a few lines lower prove that "il" cannot refer to the King of Portugal.

A.D. 1483 sadeurs, assavoir ung plain painhier de peichon de eaua duulce et de mer à grant planté comme de vin pain et fritaille, et plusseurs aultres choses à grant planté.

Ces dicts enpassadeurs demorerent en celle ville d'Elvas par l'espace de iiij jours et tindrent la Pasques Florie[1] en ladicte ville de Elvas. Et apres que la messe fut dicte les Sarasins et leurs femmes vindrent dancer devant les dicts enbassadeurs, et ausy firent les jouurs du milleur qu'ilz pouvoint. Et le xiij jour d'avril les dicts enbassadeurs se partirent vers le Roy an la compaignie du jengil homme de la maisson du Roy, le quell le dict Roy avoit anvoié pour conduire lez dicts enbassadeurs. Et furent comduits juques à hors de ladicte ville par les estas et gouverneurs dela dicte ville le plus honnestement que faire le pouvoint. Et cellui mesmes xiij^me^ jour d'avril allerent couchier à une ville nommée Ville Vicossa, et est à iiij lieus de la Elvas en allant vers Beiga là ou le Roy estoit.

They leave Elvas, 13 April.

En celle Ville Vicossa et[2] venue ung chevalier devers les enbassadeurs de par le Roy et leurs dict que le Roy se saluet a eulux et leurs amvoioit dire que pource que ilz estoint entrés en la Semaine Sainte et que de coustume il estoit acoustumé de soy retrere à une eglisse le jeudi oure au mandé, et ne saillir hors de ladicte eglisse juques à vespere de Pasques apres que la gran messe est dicte, il pource lui sambloit que il seroit melheur de demourer les Pasques en celle dicte Ville Vicossa que de aller plus avant, pour ce que celle ville estoit la milleure qui estoit juques à là ou le Roy estoit, mes que de tout pourtant il le metet à leur discrecion. Et lesdicts enpassadeurs respondirent que il leur sambloit milheur leur estoit ilz allassent juques à une journée pres du Roy. Et le dict

[1] Palm Sunday fell on the 12th of April in 1489.

[2] Sic, for *est*.

chevalier ouvant les vollentés des enbassadeurs dict que tout seroit à leur plaissir. Et ainsy partirent encontinent et allerent couchier celle nuit à trois lieus dela Ville Vicossa en une ville nommée Redonde. Et furent ces dicts enbassadeurs receus et de rechief conduis hors deladicte Ville Vicossa de trois nobles hommes les filz de ung noble chevalier nommé Ayres de Mirando, et estoint ces trois gentijlz hommes acompaigniés bien de quarante chevaulx, tous beaulx jennets, et bien montés. Apres que ces enbassadeurs estoint entrés en la ville la mère de ces nobles hommes amvoia aulx dicts enbassadeurs ung present que de vin et confitures de deux ou trois sortes, et landemain au matin en cas parail; et leurs amvoia dire que se le seigneur son mary eust esté à l'ostel que ilz eussent logiés aveques lui, et pource que ilz leur pleut de les avoir pour excussés. A.D. 1489.

Cestui chevalier que le Roy avoit amvoié devers eulx en la dicte ville de Ville Vicossa avoit nom mis^{r} Gil Matosso, et ariva devers eulx le xiiij^{me} jour d'avril; et le xvme jour partirent de Redondo et allerent disner à une ville nommé Portel. Et en celle ville estoint logiés en la maisson d'ung chevalier nommé mis^{r} Fernand-Alverez Madoureira, et estoint là l'espace de v jours. Et pour ce que il estoit pres de Pasques le Roy voulloit que ilz demeurassent les Pasques en celle ville; et ainsy le firent. Et les desfroya le dict chevalier de toutes les viandes qu'ilz mangerent hors de sa maison et eus abilliés durant le tamps que là estoint. Et ne fut là nul escarssité de nulles bonnes viandes mes a grant planté.

14, 15 April.

Stay over Easter at Portel;

Et le xxj^{me} jour d'avril les dicts enbassadeurs partirent deladicte ville de Portel et allerent disner à une bourgade nommé la Vedegeira qui est à ij lieus de Portel. Et là la maisson du Roy se tenoit. En celle ville de Portel fut fait grande feste aulx enbassadeurs, assavoir de dances d'ommes et femmes à la mode du

21 April.

A.D. 1489. pais et de courre des toures et luiteries, en leur faissant tout le esbat et delit que possible estoit. Vray est que à une lieue de[1] cestui bourgade nommée La Vedegeira ou la maisson du Roy se tenoit vient le grant chanchelier de Portugal bien acompaignié de plusseurs nobles et bonnes personnes, comme de chevaliers et docteurs et procureurs, avocaas, escuiers et aultres bonnes gens juques au nombre de cent chevalx. Et là ledict chanchelier fijt une grande arengue aulx dicts enbassadeurs de par le Roy son Souverain Senhor; la quelle arengue la conclussion estoit que ledict Roy son Souverain estoit fort joyeulx de leur venue, et que en son royaulme ilz estoint les bien venus et nenpas comme estrangiers mes comme gens de son Royaulme propre, car il tenoit le Roy d'Angleterre son soussin comme son propre frère et vray amy et ainsien allié, et pour ce que il estoint les myeulx venus en son Royaulme que nulx aultres, de quelquonques nacion qu'ilz fussent.

Are met by the chancellor of Portugal near Vedegeira.

Apres ce cestui araingue fut faite par ledict chanchelier, le docteur Sauvaige comme noble homme lui respondist sur ladicte araingue tellement que ledict chanchelier et teus les aultres chevaliers qui estoint en sa compaignie lui donnerent ung grant lous. Et ainsy apres ce fait chevaucherent amsamble juques à la dicte bourgade. Et là les dicts enbassadeurs disnerent aveques ung chevalier nommé mis^r Alvaro de Caminha. Et apres qu'ilz avoint disné le dict chanchelier les vient querir tout àcheval à leurs logis, et chevaucha en leur compaignie en allant vers la ville de Beige ou le Roy estoit. Et quant ilz estoint à une lieue près deladicte ville, là ilz furent rencontrés par le grant chenechal de Portugal, le capitaine de Portugal et ung aultre baron nommé mis^r Ruy de Soussa, les quelz les reçurent

[1] *ce*, MS.

de par le Roy leur dict Souverain. Et ainsy cheval- A.D. 1489.
querent juques a ce qu'ilz vindrent à demy lieue pres de la ville. Et là de rechief furent rencontrés par plusseurs nobles seigneurs, assavoir le marquis de Ville Real et comte de * *[1], le comte de Marialva, le comte d'Abraynches, le comte de * *[1], et plusseurs aultres grans seigneurs et grans barons et chevaliers et escuiers, et aultres plusseurs nobles gens à grant nombre, tous montés de bons et beaulx chevaulx et muilles et bien abilliés. Et ainsy chevaulcherent juques à ung quart du lieu pres de la ville. Et là de rechief furent rencontrés par l'evesque de Lamego, le vesque de Ceupte et le prieur de l'ordre de Saint Jehan nommé le prieur de Crato, et plusseurs aultres chevalliers et heraulx et trompettes, les quelles ne faissoint que sonner juques à ce qu'ilz estoint entrés dedens la ville.

Et quant ilz estoint à ung trect d'ark de la dicte Arrive at Beja;
ville, à la porte de la dicte ville avoit une belle et aute et forte tour toute cantonnée de pierre de marmere. Et estoit celle tour toute plaine de banieres, et sur les places[2] estoint des canoniers plusseurs qui tiroint des coups de canons plusseurs. Et apres que les cannons estoint cessés commenserent à sonner les menestreurs de leurs cherumbelles et saqueboutes marevilleussement bon à ouir de sy hault comme ils estoint en celle tour. Et ainsy furent menés en leurs logis de tous ces gens qui estoint bien en tout juques au nombre de vij à viij. c. chevaulx. En leurs logis ilz trouvoint leur soupper prest à grant plenté de bonnes viandes, de pain, vin, et tout ce que leur failloit.

Et landemain qui estoit le xxiij^me^[3] jour d'avril les 22 April.
enbassadeurs furent queris pour aller devers le Roy par le vesque d'Evora et le vesque de Ceupta et plusseurs

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[1] Blank in MS.
[2] *places* or *plans?*
[3] Sic, for *xxij^me^*.

A.D. 1489. nobles. Cestui jour estoit la veille de Saint Jorge, et là les enbassadeurs, assavoir mis[r] Richart Nanfan, delivra les lettres au Roy. Et le docteur Sauvaige fist la preposiscion, la quelle estoit bien faite et bella à ovuir de laquelle il eut ung grant lous et honner. Et apres la dicte prepsascion faite le Roy les print à lui et devissa ung petijt a eulx, et apres allerent baisser la main au prince et salluer le duc de Visseu coussin jermain du Roy et frere de la Royne de Portugal. Et après ce fait le Roy leur demanda se ilz voulloint aller ouuir les vesperes de Saint Jorge et ilz respondirent que ouy, et ainsy conduisserent le Roy juques à l'eglisse. Et apres les vespres dicts les dicts enbassadeurs conduisserent le Roy juques à hors de l'eglisse. Et là le Roy leur commanda de s'en aller à leur logis. Et furent conduis par les mesmes personnes qui les avoint menés par de vers le Roy. Landemain qui estoit le xxiij[me] jour.[1] Le

and deliver their credentials to the King.

26 April. xxvj[me] [2] jour le Roy fist courre des toures pour l'amour[3] des enbassadeurs. Et alla le Roy et la Royne bien richement abilliés tout deus, et tous les gentijlz femmes. Et estoit beau à veoir le Roy et la Royne chevauchier ansamble.

Et ce mesmes jour les dicts enbassadeurs dinerent aveques le vesque d'Evara qui est cousin du Roy et a nom * *[4], lequel leurs fist ung grant disner. Et disnerent en leur compaignie plusseurs nobles chevaliers de son lynaige et aultres. Le mardi qui estoit

28 April. le xxviij[me] jour d'avril ilz heurent ung grant disner aveques le capitaine de Tanger nommé Don Jehan de Menesses, lequel leur fist une grande feste, et eut plusseurs nobles hommes à disner en leurs compaignie. Ilz furent receus à leur disner aveques plusseurs

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[1] Sic. Sentence left incomplete.
[2] Sic, for *xxij*.
[3] *la mo*[r], MS.
[4] Blank in MS.

esbatemens et melodies, assavoir chantres, trompettes, clarons, escallemées, sacqueboutes, et plusseurs aultres melodies. Le merquedi qui estoit le xxixme jour ilz furent priés de aller chaschier aveques le vesque de Lamego, lequel au matin à vj heures les vient querir et les fist chasser et vouller, et eurent tous les esbatemens que possible estoit de leur faire. Et apres la chasche faite au matin leurs bailha en ung jardin ung grand disner, au quell avoit en cas parail plusseurs nobles chevaliers et gens de bien. A.D. 1489.

Et dimanche qui estoit trossieme jour de may[1] ilz disnerent aveques le marquis de Ville Reall, lequel ausy leur fist grande feste. Le Roy print l'Ordre dela Jarretiere le secont jour de may moult honnorablement et en presence de plusseurs nobles de son royaulme. Et tient la feste de Saint Jorge comme acoustumé est de la tenir en Angleterre, assavoir commença à la prendre le samadi au disner et en ce mesmes abillement alla a seoir à disner, et chevaucha apres disner à vespres sur ung beau coursier ; et de vesperes de rechief asoupper. Et en caas parail landemain, qui estoit beau à veoir. Et apres que les secondes vesperes furent dictes, le Roy fist son voyde et les enbassadeurs en la compaignie. Et apres que la voide estoit fait le Roy se retira en sa chambre pour soy desabillier et[2] ces abillemens deladicte Jarretiere, et print aultres. Et ence pendant demorra le prince et le duc en une aultre chambre devissant aveques lesdicts enbassadeurs. Apres vient le Roy et alla querir la Royne et la mena en la grande salle à dancer et faire feste en l'onneur de la dicte Jarretiere. Le Roy et la Royne dança en cercle amsamble. Et monseigneur le prince leur mena la torche devant eulx en dansant tout seul par soy. Apres que

3 May.

Who receives the Order of the Garter, 2 May.

[1] Corrected from "*le jeudi qui estoit le derrain jour d'avril.*"

[2] Sic in MS.

A.D. 1489. le Roy eut dancé, alla dancer le duc aveques une damoisselle. Et dedans ung poy apres le prince alla dancer une aulte dance aveques une damoisselle. Et dedans ung poy après le prince alla dancer une aulte dance aveques une aultre damoisselle. Et encontinent apres se ronpist la feste, et le Roy et la Royne se retirerent. Et lesdicts enbassadeurs furent conduits à leur logis par le chanchelier de Portugal et le vesque de Ceipta.

Le jour que le dict Roy recheut ladicte Jarretiere il estoy abillié de une jaquette longe de fin drap de violet en graine, et estoit richement forodré de fill d'or tiré fin. Et sur ce avoit ung manteau à la moude du pais de fin escarlatte; les quelz abillemens il donna à Richemond Roy d'Armes pour son fief pour ce que la jarretiere lui fust presenté par lui en les mains de mis^r Richard Nanfan, lequel les mist tous sur le couprs dudict Roy. Le docteur Sauvaige lui fist une arainghe de par le Roy Hanry notre Souverain Senhor, comme il fut ellu pour ung des compaingnons dudict hordre pour les grans vertius et proesse qui estoit en lui; et aussy pour la grande amyté [et][1] sanguinité qui estoit en lui la dicte hordre lui fut amvoié.

Ainsy furent les dicts enbassadeurs en ladicte ville de Beige apres que le Roy avoit prins la dicte jarretiere l'espace d'un mois. Et furent depeschies du Roy le xxiij^me jour de may. Et le Roy les deffroya te tous les despens qu'ilz avoint faits en la dicte ville. Et fit donner à mis^r Richard Nanfan une coupe dorrée qui vallet bien xl. marcs. Et lui pailla dedens celle coupe ij.c. justos, qui valloint à l'environ de j.c. xx. marcs. Et le docteur Sauvaige heut une aultre couppe de la mesme grandeur et de pois et faisson ausy douré,

The king dismisses the ambassadors, 23 May.

[1] Not in MS.

et dedens iij. c. espadins qui vallent lx. lb. et plus. Et Richemond Roy d'Armes eut a lui donné en ung gand l. espadins qui vallent x. lb. A.D. 1489.

Et le xxvme jour de may lesdicts embassadeurs partirent de ladicte ville de Beige, et furent conduits horde la ville par le vesque de Ceupta, mis^r^ Rui de Sousso, et le chancellier de Portugal et plusseurs aultres. Apres que ilz sensont[1] ainsy partis le duc de Beige coussin jermain du Roy amvoya apres mis^r^ Richard Nanfan ung cheval morisquo nommé le Teliz, lequell estoit nommé le milheur du Royaulme, et lui fist donner. Et estoit tout, selle et bride, à la moude mourisque. Et estoit la testiere et les estrieufs tous d'argent douré et estoint du pris de l. marks. Et la couverture de la selle estoit toute bordée de fil d'or semmé que le dict cheval et la garniture estoit estimé à la valleur de ij.c. lb. sterlings. Le dict cheval lui fut presenté en ung villaige nommé Le Tourrom ou ilz sont allés couschier pour celle nuit qu'il partirent de ladicte ville de Beiga en allant vers la cité de Lixbonne et a vij. lieus hors de la dicte ville de Beige. They leave Beja, 25 May.

Le xxvj jour de may sont allés couschier à Alcascere de Sal une bonne petitte ville qui est sus le borde de la mer. Et la sont entrés en ung batel le xxvij^me^ jour, qui estoit la veille de la Senson[2], et sont allés couchier à une aultre ville nomme Setonnel, qui est a ix. lieux de la Alcacere de Sal. Du Torron a à Alcacere v. lieux. Et en la dicte ville de Setonnel ilz sont demourés tout celui jour de la Senson.[2] Et le xxxme jour ilz sont venus à la cité de Lixbonne. Et les a fait logier le Roy en son logis nommé les hostaulx du Rocio. En ladicte cité les dicts enbassadeurs ont trouvé mis^r^ Eduard Brandon, le quell durant le tamps quilz ont estés en la dicte cité, 27 May. and arrive at Lisbon, 30 May.

[1] Sic, for *en sont.*

[2] Sic, for *de l'Ascension.*

A.D. 1489. il les a acompaigniés, et leurs fait tout l'onneur qu'il a peu faire, et les a festoiés en sa maison par deus ou trois foys molt honnorablement. Ces dicts enbassadeurs ont esté convoiés des marchans estans du royaulme d'Angleterre en ladicte cité teulx comme sont residens en la dicte cité, comme Thomas Smithe, Thomas Tirry, Guillaume Cabol, Thomas Baker, et aultres marchaunts de la cité de Londres et de la ville de Bristol. Ces enbassadeurs dedens de v. ou vj. jours apres qu'ilz sont arivés en la cité, mis^r Richard Nanfan a sargié et frecté une nef de Bristol nommée La Marie Gallante du bordon de ung xx. tonneauls, le quell naviere il a sargié de sel. Et le docteur Sauvaige en frecta ung aultre naviere qui estoit de Biscaie nommé la * *[1] de la grandeur de vij^xx tonneaus, le quell l'a ausy sargié de sel et de suqueres.

24 June. The seigneur de St. Germain takes three English ships.

Et quant les dicts nefs ont esté ainsy sargiés, le xxiiij^me jour de juin, qui estoit le jour dela [Nativité de[2]] Saint Jehan, le Seigneur de Seint Jermain est venu al'anquere a Cascalles, une rade qui est à v. lieux de Lixbonne, et la a prins trois navieres d'Angleterre, assavoir, ung de cent tonneaulx, ung aultre de iiij^xx, et ung aultre de lx tonneaulx; les quelles novelles ont fait arester les dicts enbassadeurs en la dicte cité juques à ce qu'ilz peullent trouver et pourveoir de remede de faire departir le dict Saint Jermain. Et ont fait escripre à Richemond Roy d'Armes une lettre audict Saint Jarmain pour faira la delivrance des dictes navieres biens et prisoniers, car ilz ne entendoint que entre les deux Roys n'avoit nulle guerre ne treues rompues. Sur la quelle lettre le dict Jermain respondist que il vodret bien rencontrer aveques eulx en la mer et que il alors leur remonstreroit se il y a guerre entre les deux Roys ou nom. Et aultre

[1] Blank in MS. [2] Omitted in MS.

responce il ne leur volloit donner. Et dedens v. ou vj. jours apres ce responce donné ledict Seigneur de Saint Jermain est parti de Cascalles et est allé de vers le Roy de Portugal, lequell estoit en Algarbe en la ville de Taville. Et apres qu'il est party les enbassadeurs sont partis de Lixbonne le iij^me^ jour de jullet, pour prendre leur paissaige. Et sont allés couchier cellui jour a ung villaige qui est a trois lieus de Lixbonne qui a nom Wiweires, et la estoint lespace de iiij. jours. A.D. 1489

Et le vij^me^ jour dudict[1] mois de jullet les dicts enbassadeurs sont entrés en leur naviere pour passer en Angleterre al'environ de les viij. à ix. heures le matin, et sont allés sellui jour au tref. Et ont esté x. jours entres Wieres et le cap de Finis terre avant qu'ilz ont peu doubler le dict caap. Et cellui dicts xme jour le matin environ entre cinc et six heures le vent est venu au sudwest, et ainsy commença à souffler tellement que el apres mydi à trois heures nous avions doublé le dict cap. Et apres que le dict cap ensy estoit doublé, le vent ventoit de plus en plus tant comme il pouvoit tellement que le xj^me^ jour apres notre dict departement le soir au solleis couschié nous estieons la moitié du mer de Spaingne passés entre le dict caap et la premiere terre d'Angleterre, qui estoint lxx. lieues; car entre une terre et l'aultre a vij^xx^ lieus, et entre la cité de Lixbonne et ledict cap de Finis terre a iiij^xx^ lieus, ainsy que nous fismes tant de chemin apres que estieons passé ledict cap en ung jour et une nuit, come fismes en les aultres x. jours devant nommés ainsy tinmes notre routte tout cellui xj^me^ jour juques à heure de mydi, qui estoit le venderdi. Et cellui venderdi honzieme jour à l'eure de nonne, com devant est espcrit, le vent sudainement changa du

The ambassadors embark for England, 7 July.

[1] *dict* repeated, MS.

A.D. 1489. sud au nort tout au contraire. Et apres qu'il estoit venu au nort commença a calmer. Et nous dura celle calme toute celle nuit juques à landemain qui estoit le xij^{me} jour de notre departement, et estoit le semmadi juques à l'environ de nonne. Et sur l'eure de nonne il saulta au sudest. Et ainsy se tient juques les trois heures apres midy. Et alors vient une bonne refrechure au sudwest qui nous dura toute celle nuit et landemain qui estoit dimenche et le xiij^{me} jour. Et venta tant que il nous mennoit bien trois lieus pour une heure. Et le plus beau temps que homme pouwoit desirer. Et dura cestui tamps tout cellui jour et juques à la minuit. Et à la my nuit au levant de la lune le vent de rechief se sanga au nort et nort norwest. Et faisoit celle matinnée qui estoit le xiiij$_{me}$ jour de notre journée faissoit ung tres leed tamps que de vent et grant pluie. Et alors estieons nous que à xv lieus de l'ille de Sorlingue. Et nous tient cellui vent contraire aveques des bruine tout cellui jour et landemain qui estoit le xvj^{me} jour [1] et estoit le jour de la Madelleine. Grant paine nous eusmes pour doubler le cap de Cornewaille, pourtant nous le doublasmes le luindi au soir à grante paine à quatre heures apres mydi; et apres que l'avions doublé cellui mesmes vent nous estoit tout large, pourtant c'estoit calme, pour laquelle causse nous ne poysmes recouvrer la terre. Et le landemain devant dict jour de la Madallaine nous gaignasme la terre de Podestou en Cornewaille.

22 July.

Are 16 days at sea,

and land in Cornwall.

Et le matin à vj heures le Seigneur Richard Nanfan desendist à terre a veques toute sa compaignie. Le docteur Sauvaige print son congié dudict mis^{r} Richard Nanfan incontinent avoit doublé ledict cap, et print sa routte vers Bristol aveques son naviere. Apres que ledict

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[1] *et landemain . . . . jour*]. Altered from *juques à trois heures après le mydi.*

mis[r] Richard estoit dessendu a terre Richemond Roy d'Armes print son congié de s'en aller à sa maisson, lequell congié ledict chevalier lui otroya et lui priant que le dict Richemont voulsist aller dedens ung jour apres qui seroit arivé en sa maisson de chevaulchier vres le Roy a sertefijer à sa grace comme il estoit desendu à terre et comme ausy ledict docteur estoit allé dessendre à Bristol. Et ainsy le fist ledict Richemond, et alla celle soir couchier à ung villaige à xx. milles de là Padstou qui a nom Lanston. Et le landemain alla couchier à Excestre, qui est à xxxv milles de Lanston et c'estoit le xxiij[me] jour de jullet. Et de Excestre se partist le xxiiij[me] jour et alla couchier celle nuit a Jaffbery.[1] Et landemain qui estoit le xxvme jour je allay couchier à ma maisson a Hampthone,[2] et là fus juques le xxvij. jour. Et le xxviij[me] jour je arivay ver la bonne grace du Roy en son chasteau de Winzore ou je lui baillay novelles des Roys de Castille et du Roy de Portugal et de la dessente de ces embassadeurs en Angleterre comme des novelles des devant nommés Roys. Et ainsy fis fin de journée cellui jour le xxviij[me] de jullet. A.D. 1489.

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[1] Shaftesbury. [2] Southampton.

First Embassy to Britanny.

A.D. 1490. 5 June. Anno 149 [1] le xij jour de juin le v an du reigne du Roy Hanry le vij^me d'Angleterre de se nom.

Sir Robert Clifford and Richmond King of Arms sent to Britanny. 14 June.

Memorandum que le Roy notre Souverain Seigneur amvoya mis^r Robert Clifford chevalier de la garde de la personne du Roy, et Richemond Roy d'Armes de Norrey, en embassade vers Monsieur de Rieux Marichal de Bertainge. Et partirent les dicts [embassadeurs [2]] de la bonne grace du Roy le xiiij^me jour de ce devant esperit moys de juin, et prindrent le chemin vers la ville de Southhampthone ou ils quidoint prendre leur passaige. Et le dict Richemond ariva à la dicte ville de Hampthone l'espace de deus jours devant ledict mis^r Rober Cliffort pour lui hordonner son passaige, comme il fist. Mes quant ledict mis^r Rober estoit arivé en ladicte ville de Hampthone et avoit veu le bateau que ledict Richemond lui avoit hordonné pour lui et pour leurs chevaulx ledict mis^r Robert refussa ledict bateau pour ce qu'il estroit trop petijt, comme il lui sambloit, pour sa personne; car il n'estoit que de xvj. tonneaulx. Et pour celle cause incontinent ledict Mis^r Rober amvoya ung poursuivant nommé Brouk, qui estoit à monsieur le grant chenechal de la maison du Roy, à la ville de Portismue vers le clerc de la navée du Roy qui pour lors estoit en la dicte ville de Portismue, qui avoit nom Jehan Commerssal, à lui desirer qu'il lui pleut de lui

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[1] Sic. [2] Omitted in MS.

ordonner en icelle dicte ville ung naviere pour son passaige en toute deligence, aveques ung plaquert sellé du privé selle[1] du Roy auquell sa grace commanda que en toute grande diligence on hordonna a cesdicts embassadeurs passaige es coustaiges du dict Roy. Et ledict Commersal, apres qu'il avoit veu ledict privessell du Roy, aveques le desir dudict mis^r Robert Cliffort, il incontinent lui fist hordonner une barque en isselle dicte ville du bourdon de lx tonneaulx, laquelle avoit nom "La Madalaine de Portismud;" laquelle estoit bonne et belle et bien garnye de bonne hordonnance. A.D. 1490.

A celle ville de Portismude ariverent lesdicts mis^r Robert et Richemond le xxij^ms jour de juin et la estoint avant que auchun vent leur peult servir l'espasse de[2] xij. jours. Et au xiij^me jour partirent de Portismude, qui estoit le iiij^me jour de juin[3] à l'environ de ix heures. Et venta le vent du Norwest tant cellui jour juques au soir qu'il estoit pres de solail couchié, et alors le vent se sanga au sud. Et ne poioint aultrement faire senon de soy mettre à l'anquere pour ce que le vent et la marée nous estoit contraire. Et nous mismes à l'anquere lors delà Poulle en une place nommé Swanzee. Et là estions juques à[4] xj. heures devant my nuit. Et alors levasmes l'anquere. Et nous dura le vant et la marée juques à landemain au matin à cinc heures, et gagnasmes aveques cellui petijt de vent Weymude. Et la estions tout cellui jour qui estoit le vme jour. Et le vj^me jour au soir a x. heures en partismes de Weimude à l'encontre de la voullenté des maroniers pource que le vent nous estoit escars; mes mester Cliffort leur commande de s'en partir pour en faire plus grande deligence de abergier le voiaige et acomplir ce que le Roy nous avoit commandé. Et toute celle nuit apres que estions

22 June.

After 12 days' detention, leave Portsmouth, 4 July.

5, 6 July.

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[1] *lelle*, MS.
[2] *de* repeated in MS.
[3] Sic in MS.
[4] *à* repeated, MS.

A.D. 1490. party le vent ventet au West norwest; tant escarsist sur nous toute celle nuit et landemain tout le jour que il ne nous estoit paas possible de gaingnier la coste de Bertaingne, mes force nous estoit de prendre l'ilhe de Garnize,[1] comme nous fismes.

Are attacked by French men-of-war;

Et ainsy que devions entrer au avre de Saint Pierre Port saillirent sur nous deux navieres de guerre, l'ung qui estoit de Saint Mallo et estoit de la grandeur de xl. tonneaulx, et l'aultre estoit de Chirbourck et estoit de la grandeur de xxx. tonneaulx. Les quelz nous assailhirent bien fierement; mes nous nous defendismes d'eulx, à Dieu mercy, tant, que sy mester Cliffort les eut voullu souffrir nous les avions prins tous deux. Mes mester Cliffort ne voulloit pas que nous gens se combatissent à eulx juques à ce que premier nous ne fuissons miz à terre, pource que il ne se voulloit pas aventurer pour l'amour de la grant sarge que avions en notre enbassade. Et ainsy fusmes mis à terre au chasteau Cornet; et la le luitenant nous vient recevoir aveques les saudoiers du chasteau, le quell luitenant avoit nom Jehan Apris.[2] Et apres que ainsy estions desendu à terre mester Cliffort pria audict luitenant qu'il lui pleut de lui prester auchuns de ces saudoiers pour aider le naviere, et que il de rechief il donnerent la chase aulx deus navieres des François ou aultrement il les combateroit. Et le dict luitenant dict qu'il le feroit tres veullentiers, et lui presta xiiij. hommes, lesquelz allerent abort. Et incontinent qu'ilz estoint abort le mester du naviere fist lever l'anquere et abatre le tref, et mist la chache apres eulx. Mes le vant se acalmist sur eulx et les François n'avoint point de couraige de atendere, mes s'en allerent et prindrent la mer. Et ainsy nos gens retournerent audict avre de Saint Pierre Port.

whom with assistance from Guernsey they put to flight.

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[1] Guernsey.

[2] Qu. Ap Rice?

Quant nous estions venus audict port nous trouvasmes là iiij. navieres de pelerins des François, entre les quelz estoit le Grant Porcon et sa fame et ung aultre chevalier nommé Morgan; les quelz aloint à Saint Jaques[1] en pelerinaige. En la ville de Saint Pierre Port arivasmes le vij^me^ jour dudict mois de juin.[2] Et là estions juques au xj^me^ qui estoit ung dimenche; et cellui xj^me^ jour au soir au solail couchant partismes de Saint Piere Port de ung vent de Nordest et arivasmes a Lantregier landemain au matin à vj. heures; qui estoit le xij. jour de jullet. Et encontinent que estions venu en ladicte ville là eusmes novelles que monsieur le marichal estoit en la ville de Vannes. Et cellui mesme jour mester Cliffort fist venir les gouverneurs de la ville à lui pour lui faire provission de chevaulx pour cellui mesmes jour prendre sa journée vers monsieur le marechal, comme il fist. Et partismes à l'environde quatre heures apres mydi, et alames couchier cellui soir à Guyngam qui est a vij. lieus de Lanterguer. Et quant arivasmes à la dicte ville de Guingam là mester Cliffort fut rencontré par le chemin du capitaine de la ville aveques tous les gentilz hommes qui estoint en garnisson desoubz lui; lequell capitaine avoit nom Guillhame Bas Bouchel.[3] Le xiij^me^ jour partismes de Guingam et alames cellui jour couchier à Rotram qui est a vj. lieus de Guingam. Et de Rotram sommes allés repestre à une bourgade nommée Beubri qui est a vj. lieus de Rotram. Et de Beubri sommes alés couchier à une bourgade nommé Plouenguir, qui est à iiij. lieus de Beubri. Et de Pleuenguir sommes allés à Vannes qui sont cinc lieus de Plouenguir.

A.D. 1490.

7 July.

11 July.

They land in Britanny, 12 July.

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[1] St. James of Compostella.

[2] Sic in MS.

[3] Sic. But I should think the author meant to write, "Guilhame Bas Bouche. *Et* le xiij^me^ jour."

A.D. 1490. Et la ville de Vannes sommes entrés le xv$_{me}$ jour de
15 July. jullet. Et à ung quart de lieu fusmes recontrés par le chemin par mis^{r} Jehan Norbry, mis^{r} Richard Woudwiltht, monsieur de la Marche, et aultres gentilz hommes d'Angleterre acompaigniés des archiers et une partie dela compaignie qu'ilz avoint en leur deus retenues. Et en la dicte ville pensames de trouver monsieur le Marichal, mes pour lors n'estoit pas ancores arivé en ladicte ville, mes estoit à Malletret, une ville à vj. lieus de Vannes. Et celle nuit mesmes amvoiasmes Brouc le poursuivant devers lui pour savoir sa bonne vollonté
16 July. ou nous nous rendrions à lui. Et landemain, qui estoit le xvj^{me} jour il amvoia par devers nous monsieur le gouverneur d'Auserre et son controleur, les quelz nous vindrent saluer depar lui et nous dirent que monsieur le Marichal estoit fort joieulx, et que à landemain ilz nous mendroint par devers lui pour parler à lui à une bourgade qui est à cinc lieus de Vannes nommé Misillak; mes pourtant nous n'y alames point, mes nous manda le Marichal qui vendroit à nous en celle ville de Vannes,
18 July. comme il fist. Et vient a la dicte ville le xviij^{me} jour
Meet Marshal de Rieux; de juillet. Et dedens une demy heure apres qu'il estoit arivé en ladicte ville il vient au logis de mester Cliffort à lui faire la reverence. Et apres que ilz avoint ung petijt devissé amsamble, ilz se se retirerent en une chambre. Et en la compaignie du Marechal le gouverneur d'Ausserre sans nul aultre, et aveques mis^{r} Robert Cliffort Richemond Roy
to whom Richmond opens their commission: d'Armes. Le quell Richemond fist la proposicion au marechal et fist les houvertures tuichant les matieres de leurs sarges. Et apres que ce fut fait le Marechal leur respondist que il parleroit aveques son consail et que apres souper il vendroit devers ledict Robert, comme il fist. Et ainsy apres souper ledict Marechal vient querir ledict mis^{r} Robert et le mena vers le Prince d'Orange et madame de Laval, les quelz estoint tous

deus ansamble. Et là ledict mis^r Robert fist la reverence au prince et a madame de Laval, et Richemond en cas paraill. Et ainsy devisserent ung poy amsamble. Et apres se retira ledict Marichal ung petijt apart, et mis^r Robert et Richemond entre eulx trois. Et de rechief ledict Richemond fist rompture sur la sarge que ledict mis^r Robert et il avoint de par le Roy leur souverain Seigneur audict Marechal tout au long; de la quelle chosse ledict Marechal se tenoit pour bien content et que il estoit bien joieux de la venue dudict mis^r Robert. Et que sur la declaracion que nous lui avions fait de par le Roy notredit Souverain Seigneur que à landemain il parleroit aveques son consail. Et que ledit mis^r Robert et Rychemond disneroint aveques lui. Et que la ilz auroint plus large communicacion amsamble apres qu'il auroit parlé aveques son consail. A.D. 1490.

Pour lors que ledict mis^r Robert et Richemont estoint venus vers ledict Marechal en celledicte ville de Vannes, les trois estal[1] de la duchié de Bertaingne estoint pour lors assamblés en ladicte ville; lesquelz estoit besoin que ilz eussent congnossance de la sarge que nous avions vers monsieur le Marechal; car la matiere touchet à toute la duchié de Bertaingne. Pour laquelle cause il estoit besoing que ledict Maréchal le declarat aulz dicts estats. Lesquelz estats se assamblerent landemain qui estoit le xix. jour. Et cellui dict jour monsieur le Marechal nous amvoia querir pour disner aveques lui. Et apres que le disner estoit fait il nous dit que il voullut aller aulx estats pour leurs faire remonstrances et houverture la cause de notre venue, comme il fist. Et au soir allames soupper aveques lui. Et alors il nous apointa de parler aveques nous en l'eglisse de Saint Pierres, qui estoit le xxme jour.

which the marshal makes known to the Three Estates of the Duchy.

19 July.

[1] Sic in MS.

A.D. 1490. 20 July. lui xxme jour monsieur le Marichal ne parla point us en ladicte eglisse comme il nous avoit apointé, nous amvoia querir à l'eure de disner pour disner es lui, comme nous fismes. Et quant le disner ait ledict Marechal nous fist entrer en sa chambre print aveques lui le gouverneur d'Ausserre et le roleur de Bertaingne, et là commencha de commu- ner aveques nous touchant notre matiere. Et cellui mes que ledict Marechal prendroit eau de Nantes ung sertain en toute haste je, Richemond vers le Roy notre Souverain haster la grande et puissante preste, la faire passer en toute queroit, pour ce que les François de mettere le siege devant la ville

22 July. de Nantes. Le xxij^me jour le dict chenechal nous pria a soupper aveques lui, et nous dict que apres soupper il me expedieroit, comme il fist. Et encontinent qu'il avoit souppé il nous print àpart et me bailha toute ma sarge que il voulloit que je dirois ou Roy notredict Souverain Seigneur; mes me dit que il ne voulloit pas que je prinsse mon congié de lui juques à landemain

23 July. au matin qui estoit le xxiij^me jour. Et à cellui matin il me amvoia querir à monsieur Robert Cliffort et à moy à l'environ de cinc heures au matin. Et quant nous vismes[1] à lui nous le trouvasmes sur monsieur le Prince qu'il estoit prest de menter à cheval pour aller à la chache, monseigneur le Prince et lui. Et là je prins mon congié de lui et de monseigneur le Prince ainsy qu'ilz voulloint menter à cheval, estant sur les rues. Et apres que je avoye prins mon congié de lui je allay prendre mon congié de monseigneur le Prince, lequell me pria que je le veulssisse recommander au Roy mon

[1] Sic, for *vismes*.

Souverain Seigneur. Et ainsy departirent lesdicts Seigneurs. Et apres qu'ilz estoint parts vient le controleur de Bretaigne nommé Guilham de Bongeur[1] lequell me donna lx. mailhes postules lesquelles ledict seigneurs marechal m'avoit amvoiés pour me defroier hors de la ville. A.D. 1490.

Et apres que tout ce estoit fait et de tous je avois prins mon congié je desiroy au prevost de la ville de me faire provission de chevaulx juques à une ville nommée Hannebon; mes pour tout ce que je povois faire je ne seus trouver chevaulx de louuayge pour tout cellui jour juques à landemain qui estoit le xxiiij^me^ jour apres disner bien deux heures. Item ence pendant que je ainsy demoray pour avoir des chevaulx survindrent des novelles à monsieur le Marechal, ausy bien de France que d'Angleterre. Item de France, que le Seigneur de Guimine estoit allé de par la Duchesse en France pour veoir s'ill vennoit avoir unes treues pour ung sertain jour com plus a plain j'ay à monstrer par les lettres que ledict seigneur de Guimine avoit amvoié à la duchesse de ce qu'il avoit besongnié en France d'ungne part; comme les nouvelles que ung chevaucheur de la duchesse porta d'autre part, assavoir comme le Roy notre Souverain Seigneur amvoioit mensieur le comte de Chrosbery en Bertainge à grant puissance de gens d'armes juques au nombre de viij. mille combattans pour le secours de la duchesse à l'encontre du Roy Charles de France le vj^me^[2] pour la deffence de ladicte duché.

24 July.

The marshal receives important news from France and England.

Et apres que ces novelles estoint ainsy venus vers monsieur le Marechal, je, Richemont monteye à cheval en la compaignie de ung secretaire de la Duchesse

Departure of Richmond with Mons. Gibon.

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[1] This name is doubtful. The writing in this portion of the narrative is much more hurried and careless than elsewhere.

[2] Sic for *viij^me^*.

A.D. 1490. nommé mester Jehan Gibon qui pour lors alloit en Angleterre en ambassade devers le Roy. Et allasmes couchier cellui jour à une bourgade nommé Hourey laquelle est à quatre lieus de la ville de Vannes en allant vers Morles. Et landemain qui estoit dimenche
25 July. et le xxvme jour dudict mois auvismes la messe en celle dicte bourgade. Et allames disner à Hannebbon qui est à vj. lieus de Havre. Et là fepusmes[1] et allames couchier à Faveny qui sont vj. lieus de[2] Hannebon. De Faveny sommes parti le xxvj^me^ jour et sommes allés disner à Caraeys. Et là avons trouvé mis^r^ James Parker et mis^r^ Sampson Norton qui tiroint aveques leur compaignie vers monsieur le Marichal, le quell les avoit amvoiés querir par ung son gentil homme qui en avoit la conduitte pour les mener vers ledict marichal, le quel avoit nom * *[3] seigneur de Daureon. Et de Caraeys sommes alés à Morles et là sommes arivés à les x. heures de nuit. Et en Morles avons
27 July. esté deus jours. Et le xxvij^me^ jour dudict mois ledict capitaines me amvoierent dire comme ilz avoint eu bataille aveques les villains paissiens de la terre du seigneur du Rouuan et le seigneur de Kintin son frere pour ce qu'ilz ne voulloint point paier les fuaiges à la duchesse; et pource se rebellerent contre elle, dissant qu'ilz esteint destruis, que par la duchesse et par le Roy de France et par le Roy d'Angleterre, et que plus ne le voulloint souffrir, mes voulloint soissir ung duc et une duschesse à leur voullenté. Et pource ilz ne voulloint obeir à nul aultre que à eulx mesmes. Et pour abergier la chosse brief ilz disoint que ilz se voulloint combatre aulxdicts Angles, comme ilz firent. Et là s'asamblerent amsamble les ungs aveques les aultres, tant que de la partie des paissens furent tueis le nombre de iiij. c. villains et prins iij. c., et des

The Breton peasants rebel, and attack the English.

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[1] Sic, qu. for *sopasmes?*
[2] *de* repeated in MS.
[3] Blank in MS.

Angles furent blessés auchunns, mais nul n'y morrit ne fut tuey. A.D. 1490.

Item landemain nous partismes de Morles, qui estoit le xxviij^me^ jour, et fusmes en la mer tout cellui jour et landemain qui estoit le xxix jour. Et le derrain jour dudict mois arivasmes à Dartemue et la eusmes les novelles comme le Roy estoit à Portesmude et faissoit prest la grande armée. Et ainsy primes notre chemin cellui derrain jour de jullet et chevaulchames celle nuit à Excester. Et arivasmes là à xj. heures devant my nuijt. Landemain qui estoit le dimenche et le premier jour d'august je Richemond me levai matin et allay parler au maire de ladicte cité d'Excester pour me faire provission de chevaulx, comme il fist; mes c'estoit bien deux heures apres mydi avant que je les peusse avoir. Et encontinent qu'ilz m'estoint delivrés je montay à cheval et allay couchier celle nuit a Chair[1] qui est à xxij. milles d'Escester en chevaulchant vers Salisbry. Le second jour d'august je allay couchier a Schaffbery qui estoit xxx. lieus. Et de Schaffbery je allay repestre à ung villaige au Neuf Forest nomme Fording Brigs qui est à xv. lieus de Shaffbery. Et de Fording Brigs je allay couchier à Southampthone, qui sont aultres xv millez de Fording Brigs. En celle ville de Hampthone je arivay le iiij^me^ jour dudict mois, et landemain qui estoit le vme jour je partis de Hampthone pource qu'il m'estoit dict que le Roy estoit en ung villaige lequell se appelle Alton. Je en chevaulchant trouvay le chanchelier de Bertaingne qui pour lors estoit nommé * *[2] de Montauban à une mille hors de ladicte villaige de Alton en allant vers la ville de Hampthone. Lequell chanchelier me dict que le Roy estoit en ladicte villaige de Alton, et que sa grace m'atendoit

28, 29 July.

Return of Richmond.

1 Aug.

2 Aug.

4, 5 Aug.

[1] Chard. [2] Blank in MS.

A.D. 1490. là, car il avoit eu des novelles comme je estoie arivé en ladicte ville de Hampthone. Mes quant je arivay en ladicte villaige de Alton, le Roy estoit des ja party à la chache au forest de Wilmar; auquell fores je le trouvay en chevaulchant vers la bourgade Fernam, et là je lui fis delivrance de mes lettres, qui estoit le
6 Aug. vj^me^ jour. Et après que ainsy je lui avoie delivré mes lettres je lui fis la remonstrance de la credence que monsieur le Marichal m'avoit donnée vers lui. Et encontinent que je lui avois fait remonstance et houverture dela sarge que je avois eu de lui audict maréchal, et de rechief avois dudict marechal vers sa grace, sadicte grace incontinent me commanda de rechiet de me faire prest, car force m'estoit pour retourner vers son coussin le Marechal, comme d'efet je fis. Et me despecha sadicte grace vers sondict coussin le Marechal dedens vj jours ou environ apres que je estoie venu par devers lui. Et ves sy la fin de cestui voiaige à mer.

Second Embassy to Britanny.

Anno 1490.[1]

A.D. 1490.

Richmond is again despatched into Britanny.

Memorandum, que le Roy mon souverain Seigneur Hanri le vij^me^ de son nom m'anvoia de rechief en Bertaigne cestui mesme an devant escript, le ixme jour d'august vers monsieur le Marichal de Bertaigne, assavoir le Seigneur de Rieux. Et fus depechié du Roy en son manoir d'Eltam, et cellui mesmes jour j'alay couchier à Londres. Et là je demoray ung jour pour me faire prest pour aller en mon voiaige. Et le xij^me^ jour je partis de ladicte cité de Londres et allay couchier cellui jour à Fernam. Et landemain, qui estoit le xiij^me^ jour, je allay repestre à Alsfort et couchier en Hampthone. Et à ma maisson en ladicte ville de Hampthone je fus l'espace de trois jours. Et le xvj^me^ jour dudict mois je partis de ma maisson et allay couchier à Portesmude, ou je fretay ung naviere de Bertaingne nommé "La Marie de Saint Pol," lequell cousta pour me passer viij. lb. sterlings; lequell fut prest dedens deus jours apres que je estoie arivé à la dicte ville de Portesmude. En ma compaignie estois pour lors ung secretaire de la duchesse de Bertaingne qui avoit nom mestre Michil le Gac, lequell estoit amvoié de vers le Roy mon mestre de par ledict marichal de Bertaingne. Et passames tous deux

9 Aug.

12 Aug.

13 Aug.

16 Aug.

[1] Sic.

A.D. 1490. ansamble, et partismes de Portismude le xviij^{me} jour
18 Aug. dudict mois environ à deus heures apres my nuit. Et monsieur le Grant Mestre en partist le matin à l'aube du jour.

Et fusmes en la mer tout cellui jour et toute celle
19 Aug. nuit. Et le xixme jour je arivay au matin à viij. heures à Saint Pol de Lion, et allay couchier cellui jour à Morles pource que mes chevaulx y estoint Et cellui jour mesmes au soir en vers vj. heures ariva monsieur le Grant Mestre devant Morles; mais il n'entra point dedens, pource qu'il estoit commandé par le Roy son Souverain Seigneur de n'entrer point dedens que premierement il n'eust des novelles sy le siege estoit devant la ville de Nantes ou non; et sy ledict siege n'y fut que il tengnist la mer et qu'il allast assaier s'il porroit trouver le collon aveques sa compaignie en la mer; et senon, que alors il retornast à Morles, et là dessendist et mille archiers en sa compaignie, comme il fist dedens ung cinc ou
20 Aug. vj. jours après. Le xxme jour dudict mois je partis de Morles et allay couchier cellui jour à Caraes, qui sont vij. lieus de Morles. Et landemain, qui estoit le xxj^{me} jour je allay couchier à Hannebon. Et là je eus les novelles comme mis^{r} Richard d'Oudeville fut tué à Nantes des gens de monsieur d'Albret, des quelles j'estoie bien dollent. De Hannebon je party le
22 Aug. xxij^{me} jour, et allay couchier cellui jour à Vannes. Et là je eulx les novelles comme monsieur le Marechal estoit allé en France pour le trecté de pais, de quoy j'estoie bien courrosse et desplessant. De Vannes je party le xxiij^{me} jour et allay couchier a Pont Chasteau, ou je fus tres mal logié. Et de Pont Chasteau je
24 Aug. party le xxiiij^{me} jour et allay couchier a Nantes.

Rejoins Sir Robert Clifford at Nantes; delivers his credentials

Et en Nantes je trouvay mis^{r} Rober Cliffort le quell pour lors estoit ancores demouré en Bertaingne pour embassadeur du Roy, lequell estoit fort joieulx de ma venue. Et encontinent que je avoie parlé à lui, nous

alames ansamble vers monsieur de L'Abret[1] et madame de La Vall à leurs presenter les lettres que j'avoys de vers eulx à toute la credence de la quelle je leurs fis houvertures. Et incontinent que je leurs avois fait houverture de ma credence, ilz incontinent hordonnerent ung secretaire de la duchesse lequell ilz amvoierent vers monsieur le Marechal en France pour nous enpreter ung salveconduit pour mis^r Robert Cliffort et pour moy pour nous aller vers monsieur le Marechal. Mes avant que ledict secretaire fut ariver vers ledict seigneur le Marechal ledict seigneur le Marechal estoit des ja de retour et party du Roy de France. Et s'en venent vers Nantes, lui et tous ceulx qui estoint enbassadeurs aveques lui de par la duchesse; lesquellz estoint le prince d'Orange, monsieur de Guinine, le Grant Mestre de Bertaingne, le procureur general, et aultres juques au nombre de ij. c. chevaulx.

A.D. 1490. to D'Albret and Madame de Laval.

En ladicte ville de Nantes je atendis la venue dudict seigneur le Marechal, lequell ariva en ladicte ville le premier jour de Septembre, et fut rencontré par le chemin par plusseurs nobles et gentilz hommes, que chevaliers et escuiers et aultres gens de bien. Mes ilz saillirent à le rencontrer par le chemin, mais le faillirent, car il vient par eua; mais ilz trouveren le prince d'Orange et aultres chevaliers en sa compaignie. Et vient aveues[2] ledict prince une ambassade de France qui estois amvoié aveques eulx pour aller vers la duchesse. Le second jour de Septembre le matin apres la messe je presentay mes lettres audict seigneur le Marichal et lui fis ouverture dela credence que j'avoy vers lui depar le Roy mondict Souverain Seigneur en presence de mis^r Robert Cliffort. Dela quelle il estoit tresbien content et me respondist que je estois le tresbien venu, et que l'apresdiner il parle-

1 Sept.

2 Sept. and to Marshal Rieux.

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[1] Sic, for *D'Albret*

[2] Sic, for *aveques*.

A.D. 1490. roit à moy et me remonstreroit devant ledict Seigneur de Cliffort tout ce qu'il averoit besongnié en France aveues[1] le Roy françois ; mais pourtant ne le fist pas,
3 Sept. mais landemain, qui estoit le iij^me^ jour dudict mois, il amvoia querir ledict mis^r^ de Cliffort et mis^r^ Margarit, qui pour lors estoit en ladicte ville de Nantes pour embassadeur pour les Rois de Spaingne, et moy. Et la amvoya par devers nous monsieur le Grant Mestre de Bertaigne et le procureur general, le quell procureur nous fist declaracion depar ledit seigneur le Marecha de tous ce que il avoint besongnié en France aveques ledit Roy françois. Et la nous desirerent que il nous pleut chevauchier aveques ledict Marechal vers la Duchesse à Rennes pour aveques nous besongnier sur la responsse que la Duchesse feroit avesques lesdicts ambassadeurs de France ; car ilz ne voulloint que ladicte Duchesse leurs feroit auchunne responce qu'il ne soit par l'advis de nous tous qui estioms deputés et commis par les Roys nos souverains seigneurs. Et ainsy fut accordé et conclu.

Apres ceste conclussion ainsy prinze monsieur le Prince d'Orange se partist vers ladicte ville de Rennes et lesdicts enbassadeurs de France en sa compaignie, et partirent de la dicte ville de Nantes le vme jour du
5 Sept. devantdict mois. Et dedens l'espace d'une heure apres entrerent en ladicte ville mis^r^ James Parker et mis^r^ Phamson[2] Norton en la ville de Nantes aveques leur compaignie. Et furent rencontrés par le chemin par monsieur le Marechal et par mis^r^ Robart Cliffort et aultres gentilz hommes, que de la maison de monsieur
8 Sept. de Labret[3] et de monsieur le Marichal. Et le viij. jour est party monsieur le Marechal dela cité de Nantes pour aller à Rennes vers la Duchesse pour donner la responce aulsdicts embassadeurs de France

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[1] Sic, for *aveques.*
[2] Sic, for *Samson.*
[3] Sic, for D'Albret.

sur la matiere que ledict monsieur le Marechal avoit besoingnié en France aveques ledict Roy françois. Et partist madame de Laval cellui mesmes jour ausy vers Rennes, et en cas parel mis^r Robert Cliffort, et moy Richemond. Et chevaulchames tous uns chemin juques à Roche Bernart, ung villaige qui est à viij. lieus pres de Vannes. Et là monsieur le Marechal se partist vers ung chasteau qui à lui est apartenant, qui a nom Rocheffort, et madame de Laval ausy, lequel est de Vannes vj. lieus. Et monsieur de Cliffort alla coucher à Vannes et ariva à la dicte ville de Vannes le xme jour dudict mois de Septembre, et moy Richemond aveques lui. Et là atendismes juques àce que eusmes novelles de monsieur le Grant Mestre d'Angleterre qui pour lors estoit monsieur Robert Willebey Seigneur de Brouck, lequell estoit arivé à une compaignie de mille archiers en la ville de Morles. Et pource chevauchoit ledict monsieur le Marechal et mis^r Robert Cliffort et ledict Richemond àladicte ville de Vannes pour le rancontrer à lui et toute sa compaignie par chemin pour parler à lui; et apres que ledict seigneur le Marechal aura parlé à lui le mener aveques lui aládicte ville de Rennes vers la Duchesse pour là plus amplement communiquer amsamble sur ladicte responce que lesdicts françois doivent avoir. Et en ladicte ville de Vannes ledict mis^r Robert et ledict Richemont estoint l'espace de iiij jours. Et alors ledict Marechal amvoia querir ledict Sir Robert Cliffort qu'il alast parler à lui et le rencontrer à une borgade nommé Orrey laquelle est à iiij lieus de Vannes. Et mena ledict mis^r Robert en sa compaignie vers ledict seigneur le Marechal mis^r Jehan Norbery. Et moy Richemond demoray en ladicte ville de Vennes pensant que ledict mis^r Robert deut revenir à couchier la mesmes nuit à ladicte ville de Vannes; mes il fut aultrement advissé par ledict seigneur le Marechal, et chevaulcha aveques lui juques

A.D. 1490.

Richmond and Clifford leave for Rennes in company with the Marshal;

10 Sept.

But turn aside to Vannes to meet lord Willoughby de Broke;

A.D. 1490. à Hennebond, une petite ville qui est à x. lieus de Vennes en tirant vers Morles.

Quant ledit Sir Robert vist que ledict seigneur le Marechal le mena aveques lui à ladicte ville de Hennebond il me amvoya une lettre en laquelle il me desira que je le voulssisse encontrer à ladicte ville de Hannebond, comme je fis. Et ainsy je partis de ladicte ville
16 Sept. de Vannes le xvj^{me} jour dudict mois, et allay couchier celle nuit à my chemin entre ladicte ville de Vennes et Hennebond, et arivay en ladicte ville de Hennebond
17 Sept. le xvij^{me} jour dudict mois. Et celle nuit ledict mis^{r} Robert et ledict Richemond souppasmes à monsieur le Marechal. Et apres que le soupper estoit fait ledict seigneur le Marechal nous menna sur les murs de ladicte ville et là eusmes grande communicacion en samble sur les affaires de la sarge que avions de par le Roy nostre mestre.

18 Sept. Landemain qui estoit le xviij^{me} jour par la requeste de monsieur le Marechal chevalchames ledict mis^{r} Robert et moy Richemond vers ledict seigneur le Grant Mestre à la bourgade de Carahes, laquelle est à vij. lieus de Morles et est x. lieus de ladicte ville de Hennebond, pour savoir de lui en quell lieu son plessir estoit que ledict seigneur le Marechal[1] pourroint parler amsamble, comme pour avoir communicacion entre aultres chossos.

Whom they meet at Carhaix. Et cellui dict xviij^{me} jour arivasmes sytart vers ledict seigneur le Grant Mestre en ladicte ville de Carahos que pour celle nuit n'usmes pas grande communicacion amsamble, pource que ledict seigneur de Cliffort estoit ung
19 Sept. poy malade. Et pource landemain, qui estoit le xixme jour, fusmes bien matin levés, et alors heusmes communicacion amsamble sur tous nos affaires. Et cellui jour je, Richemond, me partis de monsieur le Grant

[1] Sic in MS.

Mestre pour aller vers monsieur le Marichal pour savoir de lui son bon plaissir ou qu'il voulloit que ledict Grant Mestre parlast à lui. Et quant je fus ainsy party je rencontray sur le chemin entre Caraees et Fouuet ung chevaucheur qui venoit dudict seigneur le Marechal et chevauchoit vers ledict Grant Mestre pour lui advertir que ledict seigneur le Marechal le voulloit rencontrer amsamble en ladicte bourgade de Fauuet, comme ilz firent. Et la se rencontrerent le xxme jour dudict mois. Et apres qu'ilz ainsy avoint parlé amsamble landemain bien matin furent amsamble à la messe en l'eglisse parochealle. Et apres que la messe estoit dicte prindrent congié l'ung de l'aultre ; et ainsy partirent, assavoir ledict Grant Mestre de rechief à Carahées et ledict Marechal vers Malletret. Car là en ladicte ville de Malletret estoint le prince d'Orange et la damme de Laval qui atendoint là ledict Marechal pour parler amsamble sur le despaiche qui fut faite aulsdicts enbassadeurs de France comme ausy pour la despaiche dudict prince que de rechief tournoit en France de par la Duchesse sur l'apointement qui avoit esté prins entre ledict Roy françois et ladicte Duchesse.

A.D. 1490.

20 Sept.

Meeting of the Grand Master of England and Marshal de Rieux.

Ces devantdicts personnaiges eurent communicacion amsamble le xxiij^me^ et le xxiiij^me^ jour dudict mois en ladicte ville de Malletret, et cellui mesmes xxiiij^me^ jour l'apresdisner firent fin de leurs communicacion. Et partirent encontinent, assavoir le Prince et la damme de Laval vers Nantes et le Marechal vers la Basse Bertaingne pour aller paisser les paissans qui s'estoint tous levés sus contre la Duchesse et ausy contre le Marechal, disant qu'ilz ne voulloint plus paier nulz fouuaiges. Et [en[1]] la compaignie de monsieur le

23 and 24 Sept.

[1] Omitted in MS.

A.D. 1490. Marechal hors de ladicte ville de Malletret partirent lesdicts mis[r] Robert Cliffort et ledict Richemond. Et par le chemin ilz heurent communicacion amsamble en chevauchant aveques ledict Marechal de touts telles choses comme ilz pour lors avoint à besongnier aveques lui de par le Roy nostre Souverain Seigneur. Et allames couchier celle nuit an ung villaige nommé Tredion qui est audict Marechal. Et landemain qui
25 Sept. estoit le xxvme jour je Richemond parts du dict Marechal et de mis[r] de Cliffort et allay pour rencontrer aveques le seigneur Grant Mestre sur le chemin de Rennes, lequell devoit aller vers la Duchesse. Et celle nuit allay couchier à Josselin. Et là demouray la venue
26 Sept. dudict Grant Mestre, lequell ariva à Josselin le xxvj[me] jour dudict mois et là fut rencontré par mis[r] Robert Cliffort et Jehan le Prettere serviteur et gentilhomme de monsieur le Marechal ; lesquelz vindrent à lui en ung messaige de par ledict Marchal.

27 Sept. Et landemain, qui estoit le xxvij[me] jour, ledict Grant Mestre s'en partis vers Rennes et lesdicts mis[r] Rober et Jehan le Prestere partirens vers ledict Marechal, lequell estoit allé en Basse Bertaigne. Et moy, dict Richemond chevauchay aveques ledict Grant Mestere vers ladicte duchesse. Et alames repestere cellui jour à ung vilaige nommé Soreat,[1] qui est x. lieus de Joslin et à iij. lieus de Rennes, et arivasmes celle nuit à Rennes ; et estoit bien viij. heures de nuit avant que arivames à la ville. Et furent les ports gardées overtes juques à ce que estions arivés en ladicte ville. Et fut rencontré hors des portes par le sennier de la [R]oche et aultres sengneurs de la ville juque ou nombre de xl. chevaulx.

Richmond and the Grand Master arrive at Rennes,

[1] Or *Foreat?*

Le xxj^me^ jour apresdiner vient le chanchelier de Bretaigne querir ledict seigneur le Grant Mestre, et aultres gentilz hommes en sa compaignie; et le menerent vers la Duchesse pour parler aveques elle. Et là ladicte Duchesse estoit en sa chambr assis desous ung drap d'estat de drap d'or de peris et taulney et a les armes de Bertaingne semé par tout ledict drap. Et alentour desdicts armes le lasset de Saint François tout de fil d'or. Et alors ledict monsieur le Grant [Mestre[1]] lui fist la reverence et lui bailla les recommendacions du Roy son Souverain Seigneur, et elle l'enbrassa et le fit lever. Et estoit present le seigneur de * *[2] son honcle et le chanchelier, le viel chanchelier, le Marecha de l'Empire nommé Pollain, pour lors enbassadeur pour le Roy des Romains, et ung commendadeur del hordre de Calatrave nommé Rogas, enbassadeur pour les Roys de Spaingne, et[3] messre Thomas Balswell, docteur en lois, enbassadeur de par le Roy nostre mestre, et plusseurs seigneurs, chevaliers et escuiers à ung grant nombre. Et pour lors estoit vestue la Duchesse d'une roube de drap d'or tichu et sainte d'une cheine d'or grosse comme le petijt doy d'un homme et fait en la façon de ung lasset de Saint François. Et avoit au col une chaine mennue d'or atournée alentour de xx. ou xxx. tours. Et ainsy devisserent unge grant pieche. Et apres ce ledict seigneur le Grant [Mestre[1]] print son congié et s'en retourna à son logis; et fut conduit à son dict logis par le seigneurs de la Roche et aultres gentilz hommes juques au nombre de xv. à xvj. chevaulx. Landemain qui estoit le xxij^me^ jour et estoit le jour de Saint Denis, la Duchesse ala soy esbatre aulz chans à cheval et mena

A.D. 1490. 21 Sept. and have audience of the Duchess.

22 Sept.

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[1] Omitted in MS.
[2] Blank in MS.
[3] *et* repeated in MS.

A.D. 1490. ledict seigneur Grant Mestre aveques elle à soy esbatre sur les prees hors de la porte. Et la furent à l'esbat à l'environ l'espace de deux ou trois heures, et s'en retournerent. Et menna ledict seigneur le Grant Mestre la Duchesse juques à son logis, et après s'en revient au sien.

23 Sept. Et landemain qui estoit le xxiij^{me} jour dudict mois ledict seigneur le Grant Mestre eut communicacion aveques le chanchelier de Bertaigne et aultres deputés pour communiquer aveques ledict Grant Mestre sur leurs affaires. Et fut ladicte communicacion aulx Cordeliers de ladicte ville, et là conclurent incontinent sur leurs affaires. Et cellui appresdisner ala ledict Grant Mestre prendre son congié vers la Duchesse. Et landemain qui estoit l[e] xxiiij^{me} jour ledict seigneur le Grant [Mestre [1]] s'en partist vers Carahes de rechief pour aller paier ses gens de leurs gaiges, et les hordonner comme ilz se gouverneroint. Et incontinent apres ce fait ledict Grant Mestre promist la Duchesse de s'en retourner à ladicte ville de Rennes vers elle. Issilui mesmes xxiiij^{me} jour je, Richemond, prins mon congié dudict seigneur le Grant Mestre et de ledict chanchelier de Bertaigne pour m'en aller vers Nantes pour auchunnes grant matieres que je avoie à besongnier aveques le seigneur d'Albret et aultres de par le Roy mon mestre. Et alors me desira ledict chanchelier de Bertaingne [que [1]] je ne faillisse pas de retourner par devers la Duchesse, car elle voulloit esperire au Roy mon mestre par moy. Et je lui promis de ainsy ferre. Et isselle nuit je allay couchier au Bain qui est à vj. lieus hors de Rennes sur le chemin vers Nantes. Et le xxvme jour je arivay à Nantes. Et là je fus juques au derrain jour dudict moys. Et de rechief arivay à

24 Sept.

Richmond leaves for Nantes to confer with the seigneur D'Albret.

[1] Omitted in MS.

Rennes vers la Duchesse le premier jour d'Octobre. A.D. 1430.
Aveques la Duchesse je fus juqes au iiij^me jour d'octobre, et le vme j'en party et alay couchier celle nuit à une bourgade nommée * *[1] Et landemein je alay couchier à Vannes et là je demoray l'espace de trois jours. Et le xme jour je allay couchier à Hennebond, et d'Ennebond je allay couchier à Carahes, et là je demoray l'espace de trois jours. Et le xiiij^me jour dudict mois d'octobre je arivay à Lancarneau où je trouvay monsieur le Marechal et monsieur le Grant Mestre et monsieur de Cliffort, et aultres plusseurs nobles jentilz hommes, que Angles, Bertons et aultres, juques au nombre de xij.c. personnes. Et là j'estoie aveques eulx juques au xvj jour dudict mois. Et ce mesmes jour je prins mon congié de mondict seigneur le Marechal, de monsieur le Grant Mestre, les quelz pour lors et celui mesmes jour s'en partirent de celle ville, assavoir le dict seigneur le Marechal vers Kinper[2] Corentin, et le seigneur le Grant Mestre vers Carahes, et le seigneur Robert de Cliffort et moy vers Morles pour prendre nostre passaige vers Angleterre.

And returns to the Duchess. 1 Oct. 14 Oct. 16 Oct.

Item, les dons que pour lors me furent donnés pour l'onneur du Roy mon mestre furent celux qui s'ensuivent. Premierement de la Duchesse xx. francs. Item de Madame de Laval xx. s. Item de mis^r Margarit enbassadeur pour les Rois de Spaingne en la ville de Nantes une roube et ung perpoint de catin noir de ung drap noir bien fin de iiij escus l'aulne doublé de ung damas noir bien fin, et longue juques à de my jambe. De monsieur le Marchal une roube de velours nois fourrée de bougs noirs juques à terre. Et de monsieur le Grant Mestre x. escus d'or. Et de mis^r Robert Cliffort une espée d'arme dorée et belle, car pour lors n'avoit

Presents received by him.

[1] Blank in MS. [2] Quimper.

A.D. 1490. aultre chose pour me donner. Et pour lors partismes tous deux amsamble pour aller en Angleterre, et ung gentilhomme de monsieur le Marechal, qui avoit nom Jehan le Prestre, et seigneur Duval, lequell pour lors estoit amvoié en ambassade vers le Roy nostre mestre d'Angleterre. Et en ladicte ville de Morlets je atendais l'espace de[1] * * * * *

[1] Here the narrative breaks off abruptly.

INSTRUCTIONS AND REPORT OF FRANCIS MARSIN AND OTHERS WITH RESPECT TO THE QUEEN OF NAPLES.

H. R.

Instructions given by the King's Highness to his trusty and well beloved servants, Francis Marsin, James Braybroke, and John Stile, showing how they shall order themselves when they shall come to the presence of the old Queen of Naples and the young Queen her daughter. A.D. 1505.

1. First, after presentation and deliverance of such letters as they shall have with them to be delivered to the said queens from the lady Catherine, Princess of Wales, making her recommendation and declaration of such charges and words as shall be showed and committed unto them by the said princess to be opened and declared on her behalf to the said queens, they shall well note and mark the estate that they keep, and how they be accompanied with nobles and ladies.

Pleaseth your Grace, at our coming to the city of Valencia, the which was in the xxij[d] day of June in the evening, at which time the Queens of Naples, both the old and the young, sojourned and kept their households together jointly in the King's palace, that is a little without the said city of Valencia, the which palace is called the Reyalls; and on the morning being the xxiij[d] day of June, we sent Thomas Bradley, the

A.D. 1505. which could speak that language, unto that[1] palace, to the intent that he should show unto some of the said queens servants that the said queens should have knowledge of our coming, and to[2] know their pleasures when that we might come unto their presences for to present such letters as that we had brought from the Princess of Wales, their niece and cousin. The which cause was showed unto the said queens, and their pleasure and answer was showed unto the said Thomas Bradley, that we should come unto their presences at five of the clock at afternoon the same day, and so the said Thomas came and showed unto us. Where at the hour and time appointed we came unto the said palace, where by a servant of the said queens we were conveyed and brought thorough divers chambers, the which were bare and not hanged, and so unto a chamber that was hanged with black cloth, and but one window open, and on the floorthe[3] there was a great carpet spread, whereon by the window side sat the old queen, and on her left hand from the window-wardes sat the young queen. Both the said queens were clothed in black cloth and also in black kerchoes as mourners, and in like case were all they that waited on the said queens. On the right hand of the queens in the window stood an ancient duke in a long beard, whose name is the duke Fernandin of Naples, and two of his sons, and other knights and gentlemen to the number of twenty persons or thereabouts, and on the left hand of the queens there sat the duchess, the wife of the said Fernandin, and a duchess of the parties of Greece and the Marchesa de Chara, the Countessa de Tortona, and the Countessa de Montorio, and Donia Maria de Enrykes, the old queen's niece, and three daughters of

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[1] *that*] the said, Printed Copy.
[2] *to*] for to, Printed Copy.
[3] Sic in Cott. and Printed Copy.

the duke Fernandines, and other ladies and gentlewomen to the number of xviij or xx^tie persons. A.D. 1505.

At our coming to the said queens we kneeled down before them and kissed their hands, and delivered my lady princess's letters unto the said queens unto everieche of them severally, with the report of the recommendations in the behalf of my lady the princess, the which the said queens received and took very[1] thankfully, and everitche of them making answer severally by themselves unto the said recommendations, and therefore giving their thanks with a grave and stedfast[2] countenance. The young queen had not many words more than thanking the princess her cousin of her good and loving mind that she should[3] send and write unto her, and asked for the welfare of my lady the princess, whereof she said that she was glad for to hear, for she had never seen her; the old queen had the like words and many more which we passed in communication. As we be informed, the said queens have their lodgings everieche of them severally by themselves, and everieche of them have their servants, men, women, and slaves by themselves, notwithstanding the said queens do keep their estates and households both jointly together as one household, and the young queen much commonly and the old queen sleep both in one chamber, and they do keep a great household of gentlemen, ladies, gentlewomen, and slaves, and the old queen keeps a great estate with a great gravity, for she hath the king's power for to rule all the realm of Valencia, and so she ruleth and is obeyed in all things, and no manner of person that doth contrary to[4] her commandment, and as we can perceive and

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[1] *very*] full, Printed Copy.

[2] *grave and stedfast*] gravity and constant, Printed Copy.

[3] *would*, Printed Copy.

[4] *unto*, Printed Copy.

A.D. 1505. hear the said queens do keep a noble sad rule and order in their household and servants.

2. Item, to take good heed and mark that estate[1] *the said queens keep, and whether they keep their estates and households apart or in one house together, and how they be accompanied, and what lords and ladies they have about them.*

As touching this article the principal points be rehearsed in the first article before rehearsed, wherein it speaketh that the said queens do keep their estates jointly together within one house, and how that daily there is in the household the duke Fernandyn of Naples that is steward unto the said queen; and there is also two of his sons knights and three of his daughters ladies. And there is an ancient knight, the queen's cousin, called Don Pedro de Arragon, and dyvers other knights and gentlemen, and other serving men many; and there is a duchess of Greece and two of her daughters ladies, and there is the markesa de Chara, the countessa de Tortona, the which is the old queen's chamberlain, and the countessa de Montorio and Donia Anarina de Arragon, and Donia Maria de Enrikes, and Donia Jeronima the Condé of Albaydas daughter (these three be the old queen's nieces); and divers other gentlewomen be there both of the realm of Spain and Naples, and many slaves, the which do serve and be all as[2] of one house, and daily there is suit unto the said queens' court both of lords spiritual and temporal and other men and women of the said realm of Valencia for matters and causes in a manner as that they[3] would or might do unto their King.

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[1] *th'estates that,* Printed Copy and Harl

[2] *as all,* Cott.

[3] *that they*] Om. in Cott.

Insomuch as at the departing of the said queens from Valencia towards Monvedro we saw great suites and many suitors come before the said old queen, the which divers of the said causes and matters the said old queen determined and delivered, we being present. A.D. 1505.

3. Item, if it shall fortune the said King's servants to find the said queens keeping their estates together, they shall well and assuredly note and mark the manner of keeping and ordering them in their estates, with the countenance and manner of every of them, and such answer as they shall make upon the speech and communication as they shall have with them at the deliverance of the said letters and declaration of the other matters before mentioned, and to mark her discretion, wisdom, and gravity in her said communication and answer in every behalf.

As to this article, as before we have in the other article rehersed, always it hath been showed unto us that ever since that the young queen came from Naples unto Spain, that the queen her mother hath had her continually in her household with her, and that jointly they do keep their estates together. And whereas on the xxviii^th^ day of June both the said queens departed with their company from the city of Valencia unto a town iiij leagues thence, called Monvedro, whereas the old queen the third day of the month of July departed from the said queen her daughter, then leaving her in Monvedro, and in her company the duke of Fernandyn and the duchess his wife, and the duchess of the parties of Greece and the markesa de Chara, and the countess of Montorio and Donia Marina de Aragon and Donia Maria Enrikes, with the most part of the noblemen and women that belong unto the said queens, and there they for to wait and give their attendance unto the said young queen until the coming again

A.D. 1505. of the said old queen from the court of her brother the King Don Ferdinando King of Castile and Aragon, the which court was then in the city of Segovia.

And as for countenances and the manner of every of the said queens and of their answer that they made unto us at the deliverance of such letters as that we brought unto them from my lady the princess. First the old queen answered for herself as a noble wise woman, and after the young queen with a sad and a noble sewred countenance with a good deliberation, and with great discretion uttered and spake such words as pleased her, and not having many words nor moving countenance, but full stedfast, and with no high speech, and after the manner of that country with a noble gravity, and not too bold but somewhat shamefaced womanly.

4. Item, they shall in likewise endeavour to understand whether the young queen speak any other languages but Spanish and Italian, and whether she can speak any French or Latin.

As to this article, as far as that we can understand and know, that the said young queen can speak no languages except Spanish and Italian. It is said that she understands both Latin and French, but she speaketh none.

5. Item, specially to mark and note well the age and stature of the said young queen, and the features[1] *of her body.*

As to this article, as to the age of the said young queen, it is seven and twenty years[2] and not much

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[1] *feature*, Cott.

[2] *of years old*, Printed Copy.

more; and as to the stature of her person we cannot perfectly understand nor know, for commonly when that we came unto her presence her grace was sitting on a pillow, and other ij times we saw her going[1] on her foot going overthwarte a chamber that was not broad, where she came in at a door and came unto the queen her mother, being in the same chamber and sat down by her, at the which both times she wore slippers after the manner of the country in such wise that we could not come to any perfect knowledge of the height of the said queen. A.D. 1505.

And as to the features of her body of the said young queen, forasmuch as that at all times[2] that we have seen her grace ever she had a great mantle of cloth on her in such wise after the manner of that country that a man shall not lightly perceive anything except only the visage, wherefore we could not be in certain of any such features of her body, but as far as that we can perceive and judge that she is of no high stature but of a middle stature[3] after our judgment by the reason of the height of her slippers whereof we have seen an ensample.

6. Item, specially to mark the favor of her visage, whether she be painted or not, and whether it be fat or lean, sharp or round, and whether her countenance be cheerful and amiable, frowning or melancholy, stedfast or light, or blushing in communication.

As to this article as far as that we can perceive or know, that the said queen is not painted, and the favour of her visage is after her stature, of a very good compass, and amiable, and somewhat round and

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[1] *going*] Not in Printed Copy.
[2] *times*] Om. in Cott.
[3] *but of a middle stature*] Om. in Cott.

A.D. 1505. fat, and the countenance cheerful, not frowning, and stedfast, and not light nor bold-hardy in speech, but with a demure womanly shamefaced countenance, and of few words, as that we could perceive as we can think that she uttered the fewer words by cause that the queen her mother was present, which had all the sayings, and the young queen sat as demure as a maiden, and some time[1] talking with ladies that sat about her with a womanly laughing cheer and countenance, and with a good gravity, always the ladies talking with her having their[2] countenances towards her grace with reverences[3] and honor and obedience.

7. Item, to note the clearness of her skin.

As to this article, the said queen is very fair and clear of skin as far as that we could perceive by her visage, neck, and hands, the which we saw and well perceived.

8. Item, to note the colours of her hair.

As to this article, by that we could see and perceive by the brows of the said queen, and by the ends of some of her hairs that we perceived through her kerchowes, it should seem her hair to be a brown hair of colour.

9. Item, to note well her eyes, brows, teeth, and lips.

As to this article, the eyes of the said queen be of colour brown, somewhat greyish; and her brows of a brown hair and very small, like a wire of hair; and

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[1] *time*] Om. in Cott.
[2] *the*, Cott.
[3] *reverence*, Cott.

her teeth fair and clean, and as far as we could per- A.D. 1505.
ceive, well set; and her lips somewhat round and thick, according to the proportion of her visage, the which right well becometh the said queen.

10. Item, to mark well the fashion of her nose, and the height and breadth of her forehead.

As to this article, the fashion of her nose is a little rising in the midward, and a little coming or bowing towards the end, and she is much like nosed unto the queen her mother.

And as to her forehead, the height or the breadth thereof we could not perfectly discern, for the manner of the wearing of the kerchowes or tuckas in that country is such that a man cannot well judge it, for their kerchowes coming down to their brows, and much the less we could come by the very knowledge of that cause for that the queen weared black kerchowes.

11. Item, specially to note her complexion.

As to this article, as far as we can perceive the said queen is of a very fair sanguine complexion and clean.[1]

12. Item, to mark her arms, whether they be great or small, long or short.

As to this article, as that we can perceive and know, that the arms of the said queen be somewhat round and not very small, by that we could perceive when that she putteth forth her hand when that we did kiss it; and as to the length of her arm, to our under-

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[1] *and clean*] Cut off in the margin of Cott.

A.D. 1505. standing, it is of a good proportion according unto her personage and statute of height.

13. Item, to see her hands bare, and to note the fashion of them, whether the palm of her hand be thick or thin, and whether her hands be fat or lean, long or short.

As to this article, we saw the hands of the said queen bare at three sundry times that we kissed her said hands, whereby we perceived the said queen to be right fair handed, and, according unto her personage, they be somewhat fully and soft and fair and clean skinned.

14. Item, to note her fingers, whether they be long or short, small or great, broad or narrow before.

As to this article, the fingers of the said queen be right fair and small, and of a meetly length and breadth before, according unto her personage very fair handed.

15. Item, to mark whether her neck be long or short, small or great.

As to this article, the neck of the said queen is fully and comely, and not misshapen, nor very short nor long, but meetly after the proportion of her personage; but her neck seemeth for to be the shorter because that her breasts be fully and somewhat big.

16. Item, to mark her breasts and paps, whether they be big or small.

As to this article, the said queen's breasts be somewhat great and fully, and inasmuch as that they were trussed somewhat high, after the manner of the country,

the which causeth her grace for to seem much the fullyer and her neck to be the shorter. A.D. 1505.

17. Item, to mark whether there appear any hair about her lips or not.

As to this article, as far as that we can perceive and see, the said queen hath no hair appearing about her lips nor mouth, but she is very clear skinned.

18. Item, that they endeavour them[1] *to speak with the said young queen fasting, and that she may tell unto them some matter at length, and to approach as near to*[2] *her mouth as they honestly may, to the intent that they may feel the condition of her breath, whether it be sweet or not, and to mark at every time when they speak with her if they feel any savour of spices, rosewater, or musk by the breath of her mouth or not.*[3]

To this article: we could never come unto the speech of the said queen fasting, wherefore we could nor might not attain to knowledge of that part of this article, notwithstanding at such other times as we have spoken and have had communication with the said queen, we have approached[4] as nigh unto her visage as that conveniently we might do, and we could feel no savour of any spices or waters, and we think verily by the favour of her visage and cleanness[5] of her complexion and of her mouth that the said queen is like for to be of a sweet savour and well eyred.

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[1] *them*] Om. in Cott.
[2] *unto*, Cott.
[3] *no*, Cott.
[4] *we have approached*] repeated in Cott.
[5] *clearness*, Cott.

A.D. 1505. *19. Item, to note the height of her stature, and to inquire whether she wear any slippers, and of what height her slippers be, to the intent they be not deceived in the very height and stature of her; and if they may come to the sight of her slippers, then to note the fashion of her foot.*

As to this article of the height and stature of the said young queen, as in the vth article of this book it is answered that we could not come by the perfect knowledge of her height, forasmuch as that her grace weareth slippers after the manner of the country whereof we saw the fashion, the which be of vj fingers breadth, of height large, and her foot after the proportion of the same is but small, but by the slipper the greatness of her foot cannot be known, notwithstanding by the height of her slipper, considering the height that she appeared unto our sight being a-foot, her grace seemed not to be of high stature,[1] and also by cause of the manner of the clothing that women do use and wear after the manner of the country, and also she of herself is somewhat round and well liking, the which causeth her grace for to seem lesser in height.

20. Item, to inquire whether she have any sickness of her nativity, deformity or blemish in her body, and what that should be, or whether she hath been commonly in health or sometimes sick and sometimes whole, and to know the specialties of such diseases and sickness.

As to this article we have inquired for to come by the knowledge thereof to the best that we can, and as it hath been by us considered that such secret causes

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[1] *not . . . . stature*] of none high stature, Printed Copy.

be unto all persons unknown, except unto her physicians, apothecary, or secret women of her chamber, and for the next remedy for to come by any knowledge thereof we acquainted ourselves with one Pastorell[1] a Neapolitan, the which is a wise man, and he is apothecary and in manner physician to the said queens, both to the old and young, with the which apothecary we had divers times pastimes and communications, amongst the which sometimes we asked such questions if that the said young queen had any such infirmities as in the said articles before be specified; whereunto the said apothecary said, "I have served the said queen many years, being her grace a little child hitherunto, and ever she hath been in as much health as any gentlewoman that ever I had known, and of so noble a nature and complexion, having in her person no disconformity nor cause of sickness." A.D. 1505.

21. Item, whether she be in any singular favor with the King of Arragon her uncle, and whether she have any resemblance in visage, countenance, or complexion to him.

As to this article, we have understood by the sayings of many and divers persons the King of Arragon favoureth and right much loveth the old queen his sister, the which queen is alike unto the said King her brother as any man and woman may be like unto another, and also right much he loveth and favoureth the young queen his niece, and that the said King intendeth for to promote her unto some excellent marriage, and that she shall have as much or more of his gift than any of his own daughters had, for somewhat of favour the said young queen is

[1] *Pascarell*, Printed Copy.

A.D. 1505. like unto the said King her uncle, and specially in the fashion of her nose and complexion.

Moreover a common saying is in all Spain and in the King's court that the said young queen shall be married unto the King of England our sovereign lord by the means and labor of the King her uncle.

22. Item, to inquire of the manner of her diet, and whether she be a great feeder or drinker, and whether she useth often to eat or drink, and whether she drinketh wine or water or both.

As to this article, it hath been showed unto us by one Pastorell,[1] the which is apothecary unto the said queen, and also by one Sorya, the which is a household servant, the which[2] two persons be much in the presence of the said queen when that she eateth and drinketh, and as they do report and say, that the said queen is a good feeder, and eateth well her meat twice on a day, and that her grace drinketh not often, and that she drinketh most commonly water, and sometimes that water is boiled with cinnamon, and sometimes she drinketh ipocras, but not often.

23. Item, the 'King's said[3] servants shall also at their coming to the parties of Spain diligently inquire for some cunning painter having good experience in making and painting of visages and portraitures, and such one they shall take with them to the place where the said queens make their abode, to the intent that the said painter may draw a picture of the visage and semblance of the said young queen as like

[1] *Pascarell*, Printed Copy.

[2] *the which*] that these, Printed Copy.

[3] *said*] Om. in Cott.

unto her as it can or may be conveniently done, which picture and image they shall substantially note and mark in every point and circumstance, so that it agree in similitude and likeness as near as it may possible to the very visage, countenance, and semblance of the said queen. And in case they may perceive that the painter at the first or second making[1] *thereof hath not made the same perfect to her similitude and likeness, or that he hath omitted any feature or circumstance, either in colours or other proportions of the said visage, then they shall cause the same painter, or some other the most cunning painter that they can get, so often times to renew and reform the same picture till it be made perfect and agreeable in every behalf with the very image and likeness of*[2] *visage of the said queen.* A.D. 1505.

There is no answer made to this article.

24. Item, the said King's servants, by the wisest ways that they can use, shall make inquisition and ensearch[3] *what land or livelihood the said young queen hath or shall have after the decease of her mother, either by the title of jointure or otherwise, in the realm of Naples, or in any other place or country, what is the yearly value thereof, and whether she shall have the same to her and her heirs for ever or else during her life only, and to know the specialties of the title and value thereof in every behalf as near as they can.*[4]

As to this article, as we were informed at Valencia by a man of Saint Sebastian's in Guipusca, the which man is called Martyn de Albistur, master of a ship,

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[1] *time of the making*, Cott.

[2] *likeness of*] Not in Printed Copy.

[3] *and ensearch*] Om. in Cott.

[4] *can*] shall mowe, Printed Copy.

A.D. 1505. the which many years had continued in the service and wars of the King Don Ferdinando of Naples, and knew right much the demeanour and estate of the said Don Ferdinando and of his realm, whereupon the said Martyn de Albistur showed unto us that the old King Don Ferdinando of Naples granted and gave unto the old queen xl. m[l]. ducats[1] of yearly rent unto her and her heirs for evermore, the which lands and rents be part within the realm of Naples and the Poylya and part in Sicily. Also the said old King Don Ferdinando gave and granted unto the young queen his daughter xxx. m[l]. ducats of yearly rent within the realm of Naples and the Poylya for to have unto her and her heirs for evermore. All the which lands and rents the said Martyn de Albystur said that both the said queens had right[2] well enjoyed and taken the profit of them as well in the time of the French King having the realm of Naples as before time they had without any interruption. After[3] this it was showed unto us by one Pastorell[4] the which is apothecary unto the said queens, and he is a Neapolitan and hath long continued in the service of the said ladies, the which showed unto us that both the queens may dispende no more within the realms of Naples and Sicily, but xlij. m[l]. ducats of the which the old queen may dispense xviij. m[l]. ducats and the young queen xxiiij. m[l]., and that this was granted unto them and to their heirs for evermore as is before showed. And further the said Albistur and[5] the said Pastorell sayeth that since that the realm of Naples came and hath been in the King of Castile's hands, that the said queens never received no rents nor

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[1] *lx. m. li. dotage*, Cott.
[2] *of the right*, Printed Copy.
[3] *And after*, Printed Copy.
[4] *Pascarell*, Printed Copy.
[5] *And further . . and*] Om. in Printed Copy.

profits of the realm of Naples, for the great captain there, Gonsalo Ferdinando, doth receive it by the commandment of the King of Castile, and therewith he doth pay the men of war in these parts, and so the said King of Castile pays and gives unto the said queens xv. or xvi. m[l]. ducats yearly out of his coffers for their expenses and maintaining of their estates. A.D. 1505.

INSTRUCTIONS AND REPORT OF FRANCIS MARSIN AND OTHERS WITH RESPECT TO FERDINAND KING OF ARRAGON IN 1505.

H. R.

A.D. 1505. *INSTRUCTIONS given by the King's Highness unto his trusty and well-beloved servants, James Braybrooke, Francis Marsin, and John Stile, showing how they shall order themselves when they shall come into the realm of Spain, and to the presence of his cousin the King of Arragon.*

1. First, before their departing out of the King's realm, they shall take with them the King's letters directed unto his cousin the King of Arragon, and also a book of articles containing the mutual assistance to be given to the King's Highness by his said cousin against the realm of France, in case that, by reason of any violation or breach of the peace and amity which now is betwixt the King's Highness and the French King, his grace would make war against the said King of France for the recovery of his right and title there hereafter.

Item. At their coming to the King of Arragon's presence, after due recommendation and presentation

of the King's letters, they shall say, that inasmuch as the King's Highness understood and knew that for divers causes and matters they had occasion by the Princess's[1] *commandment, whereof they doubt not but he knoweth right well, to resort unto those parties, his Grace commanded them to repair unto his presence not only to present unto him the King's letters, but also to visit him and have knowledge of his prosperous estate and welfare, whereof to hear shall be unto the King's Highness as great joy and comfort as of any prince living, as well for the nighness of blood, affinity, and alliance that is betwixt them, both by reason of the espousals and matrimony lately contracted betwixt the right excellent Prince of Wales, his son and heir, and the right noble Princess Catherine his said cousin's daughter, as also for the ancient amity that hath been betwixt the houses of England and Arragon, the firm peace and amity, mutual love and affection, kind and fast demeanor that his Highness hath founden and daily findeth in his said cousin, assuring him that he shall always find the King's Highness of semblable loving mind and disposition, fast and stedfast demeanour, towards his said cousin at all times hereafter; desiring him therefore to ascertain the King's Highness of his good novelles from time to time, which shall be to the King's Highness singular rejoicing and comfort, like as his Grace shall semblably advertise him of his hereafter.* A.D. 1505.

Item. If any inquisition be made by the said King of Arragon of the good estate and prosperous welfare of the King our sovereign lord, or of the tranquillity and peace of this his realm, they shall say that, our Lord be thanked, his Highness enjoyeth his present health, and is right joyous and merry, his realm in

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[1] *Princes* in Cott., which is here the only MS.

A.D. 1505. *good peace and tranquillity, and his subjects in due obeisance and wealthy condition established in peace, quiet, and restfulness with all outward Princes.*

Item. They shall signify unto the King's Highness' said cousin how that upon an overture first made by his ambassador, Harmon Duke, and now of late by credence committed to Doctor de Puebla, also his ambassador within this realm, and at his pursuit and solicitation, his Highness hath caused a certain book of articles concerning mutual assistance against France to be delivered to Doctor de Puebla, his ambassador, to be sent unto his said cousin. And albeit that the King's Highness hath for undoubted that the said doctor hath sent the said book of articles unto his said cousin long before this time, yet inasmuch as by reason of the long distance betwixt both the realms such danger and casualties might chance and fortune by the way, so that the same might not come to his presence; in avoiding therefore the[1] *ambiguite and doubt, and for the more suertie and certaintie, the Kinges highnesse hath eftsones sent unto his said cousin by them the tenor of the said boke, desiring and praying hym to cause the same to be seen by his secrete counsaill, and t'advertise his grace of his mynd and pleasure by his writing, whiche they shalbe gladde to conveye unto his highnesse at their retorne out of those parties. The premisses to be translated into the Spaynysshe tong, and uttred by John Stile unto the said King of Aragon in the same tong, and in as discrete manner as he can devise and use. And for th'obteignyng of writings and answers from the said King of Aragon upon his*

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[1] Thus far the text has been derived from MS. Cott., Vesp. C. vi., this portion of the original document being lost. The spelling of the Cottonian MS. has not been preserved, it being only a transcript of comparatively modern date.

entent and mynde in the said articles, they shall with all effectuell diligence endevor theymself with the said King in suche wise that if by any meanes possible they maye obteigne the said answers they shall bringe the same with theym at their retorne. A.D. 1505.

Item, in case it shall fortune the Kinges said servants at their being within the said Reames of Spayne to have notice and certain knowlege of the decesse of the Frensche King, then they shall the more instantly porsue and solicite to the Kinges said cousin for the knowlege of his full entent and mynde upon the said articles; shewing that, forasmoche as the said King of Aragon in whom the Kinges highnesse hath alwaies founde grete love, amitie, humanitie and kyndenesse, with constante perseverance in the same, and to whom his highnesse is joyned aswell by nighnesse of blode as also by aliaunce and affinitie, is that prince whom his grace above all other princes most estemeth, entierly loveth and favoureth, his highnesse therfor is not oonly firmely sette and intierly mynded t'observe and kepe suche treaties of peas, confederacions and amities that nowe be contracted concluded and establisshed betwixte his said cousin and hym, but also is gretely desirous to augment and encrease the same, considring that his said cousin is of semblable mynde to the said augmentacion soo that it maye evidently appere to all other christen princes that like as the nighnesse of blode, with affinitie and aliaunce indissolublely hath joyned and knytte theym togeder, so the ferme band of amitie and kyndenesse hath connected their wills, entents and myndes that they repute and take all and sundrie their causes and matiers as oon, aswell for the conservation of their rights and titles whiche they and every of theym nowe have and enjoye, as also for the recoveree of suche as by extorte violence and usurped power be witholden and withdrawen from theym and every of them. And

A.D. 1505. *for that entent and purpos, the Kinges highnesse is right desirous to understande his resolute mynde and answer upon the said articles, to th'ende that the same knowen, his grace maye take suche wayes and direccions with that prince that shall nexte pretende title and succession in the said Reame of Fraunce when porsute shalbe made on his behalf unto his grace for confirmacion of the old am[itie] as to the said articles and his answer to be made up[on] the same shalbe thought convenient and agreable. Wherein for the singlier love and entier affecion that his highnesse bereth to his said cousin his grace entendeth noo thing to doo till suche tyme as he maye knowe the resolute mynde and answer of his said cousin; whiche answer they shall desire to have delyvered unto theym as soon as conveniently may be, to th'entent that with all diligence the same maye be by theym conveyed and brought to the Kinges highnesse considring that it is not to be doubted but hasty porsute shalbe made unto the Kinges highnesse on the behalf of the successor of the said Frensche King, not oonly for the confirmacion of the old amitie, but also for innovation and newe intelligence to be made upon the same.*

Item that they, as well at their arriving in the parties of Spayne as also in all their waye and jorneying towards the corte of the said King of Aragon, and specially at their comyng to the corte and when they shalbe in companye of any noble or wise personages of that reame, they shall by the moost wise and secrete wayes that they can use, endevor theymself to knowe in what state and condicion the said King of Aragon nowe standeth, and hath stande in sithens the dethe of the Quene, within the reame of Castile; that is to say, what favor and love the subgetts of that reame, specially the nobles, bere unto him.

Plesithe your hyȝghnes for to understond that we cam unto the cite of Segovya the xiiij daye of the monyth of July; wherunto the same daye cam the afore said kynge of Aragon from a place ij legs from the said cite called the Buske where as that he had byn x dais by fore that ahonteynge. And in the said cite he was logeid at a place of the bysshoppes of the same cee, where on the xvij daye of the same monithe we were comandid for to come unto the kynges presence; and at our thether comeynge, we doynge our dewe reverences unto his highnes and delivered your most onorabill letters with your most excelent recomendacions. And after that, we shawid and declared unto the said kynge, then he oonly and we beynge within the said chambur all and every thynge acordeyng unto the furst articule of your most nobill instruxions; after the whiche so shawid, the said Kynge demaundid and asked "Howe farithe my nobill brother, the Kynge your suffereyn lord?" Wherunto we anshewerd acordeynge un to your instruxions; wherin he riȝght muche rejoysid, and asked "Howe farithe the nobill prynce of Wales?" Unto the whiche we made anshewer, thankeynge God and geveynge lawdes and prayseyngs of hys grace as reson is. Wherunto the said Kynge saied "For sothe y am gladdist of any man lyveynge of the love, favor and amyte of my brother the Kynge of Yngland; for y hold and take hym for the most excelent, wise, nobill and stedfast prynce of cristendome, and so owȝghte all other prynces for to take and rekon hym for the most worthyest of all other." A.D. 1505.

And the said Kynge saied, "For nobill stedfastnes that ever y have found and knowen in my brother of Ynglond, and that he ys and hathe byn desiros of my amyte and love, for sothe y ever shalbe and daily am about that I can or maye, for to augement and to increse the love, peas and amyte, and the consangwynyte,

A.D. 1505. that of longe tyme hathe byn bytwyxt the reames of Yngland and Aragon; and y ever shalbe glad and wille take my brother of Ynglandes parte in althynges, as myn owne cause. And, as to the conclusion of dispowsaile by twyxt the nobill lorde the prynce of Wales and my douȝghter the lady Kataryn, hit ys riȝght gretely unto my comfort; for often tymes when that y am trobyllid in my mynd for the dethe of my quyn and with other causes, hit riȝght gretely rejoisithe me that y am in sewred that my said dauȝghter shalbe maried unto so nobill a prynce, and that she shall have so nobill a fader on lawe as ys my brother of Yngland." And saied, "As to yowr goynge and beynge at Valencya with the quynes my suster and cussyn y was therof advertised. Y wold that ye had comen thys waye by me; for y wold have wretyn with you my letters to th'intent that ye shuld have byn the better receyvid and intretid." Wher owr excuse was that [the cause why[1]] we cam not furste by his hiȝghnes, was for so much as at our landeynge at Fonteraby, and also after in other places, hit was shawid unto us that ther was no vituall for man nor horse, goyng towards there as his highnes laye. Then the Kynge saied "My suster the quyn wilbe here with me for that cause of your beynge at Valencya." And we saied that verely we understode the the[2] said quyn was comeynge towards his highnes. The Kynge demaundid "Can my dauȝghter speke any Ynglishe?" and we said that hir grace cowde speke some and that she understode muche more; and we gretely comendid the lady prynces and saied that we understode by hir comewnycacion at dyvers tymes that she riȝght muche

[1] These words, omitted in the Chapter House book, are supplied from the Cotton. MS.

[2] Sic in Ch. H. MS.

lovithe his highnes, for ever she takithe a grete plesure in hir spekeynge of his grace. The Kynge saied "For sothe y love my said dauȝghter interely; for ever she hathe lovid me better then any of my other childer and y am gretely dessiros that she shalbe an Ynglishe woman and to lerne for to speke Ynglishe; and so y have wretyn unto hir by divers of my letters that she shuld a plye hir for to lerne that langeaje." A.D. 1505.

2. Item, whether there be any speche or likelihod that the King and Quene of Castile shall come into those parties; and if they come thider, whether the King of Aragon or they shall have the principall auctoritie.

And in case they maye perceyve and perfectly undrestande that the said King and Quene of Castele shall come into the Reame of Spayne at any tyme during their abode ther, then they shall addresse theymselfes unto suche cities or other townes and places nere abouts the King, wher the said King and Quene shall bee receyved, and circumspectely note and marke th' ordre, maner, seremonyes and circumstances of their said receyving, howe and in what wise it is doon, at every suche tyme and place; marking well also the meting of the King of Aragon with the said King and Quene of Castele; and to regarde whether the said King of Aragon shall take upon hym the preeminence superiorite and souveraintie or that he shall geve the same to the said King and Quene of Castele. And to make a boke particlerly conteignyng all the said ordre, seremonies, and all other circumstances of the said receyvings as nere as they shall mowe perceyve and undrestande. And for the parfaite knowlege of all the said matiers and seremonyes they shall make their abode ther the lenger, and though it be by the space of a moneth or more, as the case shall require; and to bringe the certaintie to the

A.D. 1505. *Kinges highnesse how the saide Kinges agree in every behalf.*

Your grace schall understond that at our beynge in the Reame of Spayne that there was no verrey certayn knowliche of the tyme of the comeynge of the King Archeduke and of the quyn his wife in to the parties of Spayne; but daily there cam letters and messengers from theym un[to] their in bassatur callid Monsr. de Verey, the whiche is in the corte of Spayne. And some tyme hit was saied that bothe the Kynge and the Quyn wold come by the see, and that they woldbe in that parties by all the monithe of October; and some saied that the Quyn was grete with childe, wherfore she myȝghte not come, and that the Kynge wold come with owte hirre, wherwith the Spaynards be not plesid in case that he so will do, for they dissire more for to have the Quyn then the Kynge; for the comon sayenge ys that in case that the Kynge and the Quyn bothe jontly come to gethers, yet never shall Flemeynge nor Burgonyon have any office kepeynge of any toune or castell within the landes of Spayne.

The said Kynge Archduke hathe providyd so many postes lyenge by the way by twixt the Kynge his faderin lawe and him; and ever in x. days the letters be conveyed from the oon corte unto the tother.

3. *Item, whether the subgietts of that Reames be desirous that the King and Quene of Castile shuld come thider. And if they come thider, whether the said subgietts wold more favor the said King and Quene then the King of Aragon forsaid.*

Plesithe your grace for to understond that the comewnes of boothe the Reames of Aragon and Castiell, as farre as that we have labored, be riȝght gretely

dessyros of the comeynge of the archeduke yn case that he wille brynge the quyn his wiffe with hym, for that they be pepill muche desiros and in clyned to theyre naturall eyre prynce, whether that hit be eyre generall or otherwise. Wherfore the estats and comons of thys land make more solemnyte and rekonynge of the quyne then of hir fader the Kynge. Where fore in case that the Kynge Archeduke do come in to thys parties and he bryngeynge the quyne with hym then he shal have the hartes of the most parte of the estats and of the comons of the land. And in case that he shall fortune or wille come by hym selfe leveynge the quyn by hynd hym, they of the parties of Spayne wille not resayve nor make no more of hym then of an estranger. A.D. 1505.

We askid of dyversse of the comeunes the cause whye that they were so dessyros that the Kynge Archeduke and the quyne schuld come into that parties. And the said comeunes saied "Verely we have had anobill Kynge reyneynge uppon us, to whom God hathe gevyn many victories a yenste the enymes of our faithe and his Royall estate, the whiche ever by the helpe and power of God he hathe over come, and he hathe had the victory. Notwithstondeynge that, the said our Kynge hathe byn ever sore and chargeabille unto us in causeynge us for to paye many taskes and talages in the liffe of the quyne our naturall lady, on whos saule Jesu have mercy; and we fere that in case that the Kynge schuld contenewally reyne on us, that he wold dayly putte us unto suche charges. Wherfore we be dessiros that the quyne donya Joana and her husband the Kynge Archeduke shuld come, for as much as that all the land of Granada is conquered and this land is in rest and peas; so that we trust that hereafter we shall not nede for to be charged for to paye any more taske or talages, wherby this land ys made veray pore." So by the comon sayengs

A.D. 1505. in case that the archewde and the quyn do come to gethers, the most off the lande wille take theym for their Kynge and Quyn byfore any other.

4. *Item, of what wisedome the King of Aragon is reputed to be, and whether that he by hymself principally rueleth the said reames, orells the same Kinge* [*is*[1]] *rueled by other counseillors of grete auctoritie. And in case it soo be, then to knowe the specialties of suche personages and in what auctoritie they be and their names, bee they spirituell or temporall or both.*

Plesithe your Grace that the said Kynge ys reputed to be verey wise, and as farre as that we can persayve and knowe by suche comewnicacion as that we have had with hys highnes, we thynke and fynd in hym that he ys awise prynce. And as that we can understond he rulithe the said reames most by his aune wisdome, and at all tymes he makithe aunshewer and hirithe all in bassatores, and determynes the moste grete and secrete causes hym selfe with owte callynge thereunto any of his counsaile. As for the causes or maters owte ward of his reame, in all suche causes he callithe un to hym Almasan, the whiche ys his secretary for all owteward causes specially; and the said Almasan ys most of the said Kynges secrete counsaile. We asked of dyverse persons and saied that we gretely mervelid that the Kynge callid no moo of his counsaile for to hyre and to aunshewer in bassatores and other causes. Wherunto aunshewer was made un to us that the Kynge did so anshewer and hire every owteward cause hymself to theintent that no geolosy shuldbe had amonges his lordes and

[1] Om. in Ch. H. MS., supplied in Cott.

counsaile, in case that he did calle more oon then another. And by cause that there ys a groge by twyxt dyverse lords of the land, of the whiche some of thym be in the corte contenewally, as the condestabbil and the duke de Alva; and some other therbe that for their beynge aboute the Kynge they came not at the corte, as the duke of Anajara and the markes of Velena. The said Kynge hath moste conteneually in his corte with hym and of his cownsaile the archebysshoppe of Toledo, and the archebysshoppe of Cevylle, that ys his confessore, and the bysshoppe of Plasencia; and the bysshoppe of Cordoa, that is presedent of the counsell, and the bysschoppe of Palencya, the whiche ys awisse prelate and of late he was inbassatur in the parties of Flanders. Other dyverse bysshoppes therebe and many other doctores and lerned men yn the lawe the whiche have charge and autoryte for to determeyne and ordor suche maters and causes as ys consernynge the reames of Castill, Aragon, Cicelia and Granada, and for everyche of the said reames severall jeuges be deputeid and ordeyned, and counsaile in suche wise that the counseyll of the oon land medills not with the tother. And in case be that a cause or mater in any of the said reames can not be determyned by the juge therefore deputid, then the Kynge hirethe the cause. As for Napules [it[1]] ys taken as an owteward reame and hathe no maters determyned in Castell by any juge there. And ij days in the wyke the Kynge hym selfe sitithe in cownsaile with hys lords abowte the performacion of the quynes wille; and other ij dais for the maters of the land. But verrely we can not hire, se nor knowe that he hathe any man so nere of his most secrete counsaile as ys Almasan his secretary, A.D. 1505.

[1] Om. in Ch. H. MS., supplied in Cott.

A.D. 1505. notwithstandeynge that the constabill and the Duke de Alva of any temporall lords be gretist in favor. And they be contenewally in the corte, and Don John de Cabrera the Kyng's chamberlayn (he ys an aragonese). And the Markes de Dene that ys the Kynges steward. And of the speritualmen thereys non better taken nor that medles more with temporall maters then the bysshoppe of Palencya, for he ys a nobyll man of birthe.

5. Item, to inserche by the wisest waies that they can use whether the said reames bee holye unite without devision; or that ther be any faccions or devisions betwixte theym, or likelihod of any devisions betwixte the King and the nobles of that reame. And if of likelihod ther shall ensue any suche division, then to enquire whether it be for the title of that reames or otherwise, and what shuld be the cause therof, and by whom it shuld be doon, with the circumstance of every thing.

Yowr Grace schall understond that of longe conteunyans there hathe byn varyance bytwyxt the condestabill of Spayne, the whiche ys the greteiste lorde of that londe (for he maye despend yerely xx. m^l^. marke and he ys a grete lorde of men), and the duke of Anajara. Thys duke ys a lorde also of many men, and he may dispend x. m^l^. marke yerely. And he ys a man of grete coraje; and dyverse tymes in the liffe of the quyn he did more displesures un to the condestabill then the condestabill did un to hym. The said duke ys nere kynysman un to the Kynge, and he did most helpe the Kynge in his nede in his furste comeynge in to Castell. And whereas hit ys so that the condestabill hathe maryed the Kynges bastard douȝghter, wherfore the Kynge riȝght muche favorithe and lovithe

hym; and he is and hathe byn in the corte ever sithen the dissece of the quyne; the whiche sore grevithe the duke, and in no wise he wille not come un to the Kynge but abides in his contrey and sends and wretes un to the Kynge that he is and wilbe trewe and fast un to hym and to the quyn donia Joana. But he wille not come at the corte un to the tyme that she come. And dyverse lords, as the Conde de Onaty and other his kynysmen and tenants hold with hym. And with the condestabill holdithe the duke de Alva and the Almyrante and other. Also the markese de Valena that ys oon of the gretiste lords of that land, and by cause that he was sworne un to the lady that is in Portyngale in the life of Kynge Henry of Castell, her fader, after the dethe of the said Kynge Henry the said markes caused the Kynge Alfonso of Portyngale for to come in to Castell and for to enterprise the land. Wherefore the Kynge and the quyne donia Ellisabethe at the furst begynynge of their reygne movid warre ayenst the said markes and toke from hym the most parte of his lands the whiche un to this daye the Kynge holdithe and kepeithe. Wherefore he ys gretely dessyros of the comeynge of the archeduke and of the quyne his wiffe, for as muche as at hir laste beynge there she promysid to hym that yef ever she were quyne of Castell that he schuld have hys lands ayen; notwithstondeynge, he hath byn with the Kynge Don Fernando sithen the dethe of the quyne more for fere then for love. A.D. 1505.

A nother knyȝghte there ys, the whiche claymes of riȝght for to be the Duke of Medyna Cely the whiche dukedome ys of yerely valewe xij. m[l]. marke clere; the which dukedome the quyn in hir liffe gave un [to] hys brother bastard sone by cause that he maryed a lady of hir corte. So that the riȝght eyre by favor of the quyn was put from his lands. Wherfore sithen the dethe of the quyn donia Ellisabethe he, seynge that he

A.D. 1505. can nott have his lands, he ys gon to the Archeduke ffor to have socor and remedy there. Th'on said knyȝght hathe many grete frynds, as the duke of Medyna Sedone, and the duke of them Fantealgo and other that wold gladly helpe hym to his riȝght. And therfore there ys leke to be trobill amonges the grete men that take the dyverse parties by cause this ys a just quarell on the kniȝghtes side. Wherfore they wille shawe that to be cause of theire stereynge. Wherof hit ys fereid that grete variance and trobills shall or maye ensewe in that parties.

6. Item, to enquere whether the King of Portugale favoureth more the part of the King of Aragon or th'archeduke King of Castele.

Yowr Grace schall understond that by suche informacion as we have had hit hathe byn schawid unto us that the Kynge off Portyngale more favorithe and lovithe the Kynge of Aragon his fader-in-lawe then he dothe the archeduke. For as hit hathe be saied un to us that when the archeduke was in Castell he schuld saye that he pretends a titell unto the reame of Portyngale; the whiche he saied yef that he levid he wold thynke for to have the said reame as his riȝghte and inerytans. Wherwith the Kynge of Portyngall was grevid; and hit ys thouȝght that the Kynge of Portyngall ys not dessiros that the archeduke shuld come in to Castell for to be so nere unto hym for fere of that moshion.

7. Item, whether ther be any speche of any good agreament or accorde betwixte the said King of Aragon and the Frensche King or any likelihod of warre.

Yowr grace schall understond that at our beynge in the reames of Castell and Aragon we cowde not hire of any moshion of any warre shortely to be made or had bytwyxt the reame of France and the said Kynge of Aragon. The comon sayenge of the pepille in thois parties was that they were sory that the Archeduke was so muche rulid by the counsaile of France; and that they thynke that yef that the Archeduke do take any synester wayes ayenest the Kyng his fader in lawe, that hit ys by the comfort of France. Wherof they saye that they do not feer but that hit shalbe to the Archeduke hurte and displesure to the reame of France. And thys they do speke and saye with grete violence, not feereynge the reame of France; for they be rizght welle ordored and apte to the feats of warre. A.D. 1505.

8. Item, of what reputacion and fame the King our souverain lord is ther, aswell amongs the nobles as the communes; and in what opinion or trust they have and repute hym if they shuld have nede of hym, and in likewise of the princesse.

Yowr grace schall understond that the Kynge and the nobilles of the reames of Castell and Aragon repute and take yowr highnes for oon of the nobiliste, excelent, wyse and myzghty prynces of the warld; and that yowr grace ys of a rizght grete myzghte and power for to ayde and comfort yowr frynd in the tyme of his nede. And many of the comeunes thynke the same, the whiche have had knowliche of your grace. But many other jantilmen and comons of this land that have no knowliche of yowr grace nor of yowr reame, the which thynke that ther ys no land butt Spayne. But they that knowe your grace gretely do rejoyse the maryaje that ys concludid bytwyxt my lorde the prynce and my lady the pryncesse.

A.D. 1505. *9. Item, what speche is ther of the mariage betwixte my lord prince and the lady Katheryn, and howe they take the same, and what rejoicing they take therof.*

Yowr grace schall understond that the Kynge hym selfe and other lordes and nobles of that land ri3ght gretely rejoysethe the aforesaid conclusion of mariaje as thatt they do saye and that thereby they do trust for to have grete socore yef that they shalhave nede of your grace and of yowr land. And they be dessiros and hit plesid God that my lorde the prynce and my lady the prynces were so nere un to the croune of Castell and Lyons and all thies lands as the archeduke and his quyne ys. For every man and woman of the reame that do knowe my lady the pryncesse favor and love hir more than any other of the Kynges childer.

Notwithstondeynge, after the decesse of my lorde the prynce Artur (on whos sawle we beseche Almy3ghty God to have mercy) and by fore the conclusion made by twyxt my lorde the prynce that nowe ys and the lady pryncesse, muche labore was made un to the Kyng hir fader and the quyn hir moder that the said lady pryncesse mi3ghte be maried unto the duke of Calabria, the whiche is nowe in the corte of Spayne. And he was son un to the Kynge Don Fradrike of Napules the whiche of late decessid in France. And thys maryaje they wold have made to theintent that after the decesse of the Kynge of Aragon that nowe ys that the said duke of Calabrya and the pryncesse shuld have byn Kynge and Quyn of Napules.

10. Item, whether he bee reputed and taken as King of the said reame of Castile Lyon and Granate during his lif orells as administrator and gouvernor. And if he be reputed but as administrator and gouvernor,

then to undrestande whether he governeth the said reame to his awne behouf and perceyveth and taketh the revenues therof to his awne use and proffite or to the behouf of th'archeduke and of his wif, doughtre to the said King. And whether the said King shall make any accompte for the same, or whether he bere or shall bere any pension to the archeduke, or that the said king receyve any pension in certaintie of th'archduke for his administracion and governance answering the residue to the said archeduke. A.D. 1505.

Yowr grace schall understond that in mediatly after the decesse of the quyn, the said Kynge in open place, hym selfe beynge present stondeynge on a stage did proclamashion to be made in the name of his dowȝghter donia Joana, callynge hir quyn of Castell and Lions and Granada &c. and pryncesse of Aragon and Cicelya, and he callynge hym selfe govornor and admenister of the said reames of Castell and Lions and Granada for the said quyn his dowȝghter. With the whiche proclamacions dyverse and many of the lords and comeunes of that land were sore displesid with the kynge that he dismyssid hym selfe to be called kynge of Castell for the terme of his liffe, notwithstondeynge that he wold none otherwise do, and so hither unto he ocupiethe and govornythe the said reames of Castell and Garnada in the name of the quyne Donya Joana his dowȝghter, and so in all processes wreiteyngs and proclamacions hit ys made, saied and don, and hym selfe called and calleyng hym selfe admenister and govornor; that not withstondeynge he rules and his comandaments be obayed as thouȝgh he were called kynge and non otherwise nor lesse. And the said kynge resayvithe and persayvithe all the revenews and profitts of the said reames of Castell and Lions and Granada unto his awne proper use and profite and ys at no composecion or at any apoyntement with the archeduke nor with

A.D. 1505. the quyn his wife therfore; nor he intends not for to render or to geve unto theym any acount of the revenewes and profettes of that landes for duereynge the terme of his liffe, nor said kynge sufferithe nor wille not suffer any juge or other officer to be made nor putt within the said reames by the kynge archeduke.

Plesithe yowr grace for to understond that we spake with the kynge the xxi daye of July and then we schawid unto hym acordeynge unto your most nobillist in struxions consernynge the overture unto your highnes made by his in bassatur Farnando Duke, and after wards also unto your grace solicitud by the credence also of his inbassatur doctor de Puebla. Whereof your grace had causid a boke of certeyn articules to be made and the same delyvered unto the said doctor de Puebla, the whiche your grace had for undowtid that his highnes had resayvid or this tyme from his said inbassatur; not withstondeynge for the more sewerty and for casualties that mizght fortune or befalle for the longe distance that ys bytwyxt bothe your nobill reames that your grace had by us your servants sent the copey of the said articules the whiche we dessired his highnes for to cause hit to be seyn by his grace and his secrete counseyll, and that by his wreiteynge at this tyme and by us your servants that he wold make aunshewer un to your grace of his determynat mynd in that behalfe; the whiche wreteynge and copy of the articules we delyverd un to the said kynge; his highnes, sayenge un to us "Verely y have resayvid the said booke of articules from myn inbassatur the doctor de Puebla, and by my letters sent un to hym y have wretyn myn aunshewer in that behalfe; neverthelesse y schall send for my secretary, the whiche nowe he ys some whate seke, and as sone as that he maye come unto me y schall cause thys wreteynge to be seyn with the wreteynge that myn ynbassatur sent unto me; and that so don, y shall thereuppon send my

secretary unto you, the whiche shall shawe unto you A.D. 1505.
myn further mynd;" and saied "Y shalbe glad for to do that thynge that maye be to the plesure and profite of my brother the Kynge of Ynglond your lorde; for Y repute and take all his causes and maters as efectually as myn awne proper causes." Wherunto we aunshewered and saied that his highnes maye be verely welle insewred that yowr grace in lyke case dothe take and wille take all his causes as your aune causes; we sayenge by the grace of Almyȝghty God, the kynge owr suffereyn lorde and yowr hiȝghnes beynge all as oon and of oon mynd and amyte and stedfastnes, that hit shall not be possibill unto any other prynces of the warlde for to wronge or greve you or your nobill reames. Wherunto the said kynge ansheweard and saied "my brother of Ynglond your lorde and I do take nor have taken any wrongefull quarelles. Wherfore y trust that God shall helpe us in owr riȝghte and juste quarells."

On the xxiiij daye of July we were apoyntid for to come on the morneynge unto aparishe churche fastely by the kynges logeynge; and there cam unto us Almasan the kynges secretary and askid of us yef that we had any other causes or maters for to schawe then that we before had schawid unto the kynge his lorde, for asmuche as the kynge had sent hym unto us for to knowe yef that we wold schawe or comeune of any other causes that by fore we had not shawid. And that also he was sente at thys tyme for to schawe and to declare unto us fully the kynge his lordes mynd and purpose openly and clerely in every thynge, and no thynge for to be kepid cloosse nor to be hid from us, to theintent that when that we shuld come unto your royall presence, that we shuld manifest and schawe the same unto your grace in secrete wise and unto non other person. Where we saied unto the said Almasan "The kynges

A.D. 1505. grace owr sovereyn lorde trustithe verely and hathe hit for ondowteid that his brother and cussyn yowr suffereyn lorde wille observe and firmely kepe all suche causes as that hathe byn concludid and putt in articulis by his inbassatures with hys highnes. And for as muche as every daye aprochethe the tyme apoyntid of the mariaje by the grace of God by twyxt my lorde the prynce of Wales,[1] son and eyre unto the kynge of Ynglond owr suffereyn lorde and the lady Kataryn dowȝghter unto the nobill kynge your lorde, the whiche tyme shalbe at the fest of Sant John the Baptiste next comeynge or there abowte, the whiche tyme the kynges grace owr suffereyn lorde trustithe that hit ys riȝght well remembrid and that at that tyme every thyng shalbe performed and paid in the behalfe of the kynge your lorde."

Wherunto the said Almasan saied "Ye schalbe insewred that the kynge my lorde ys riȝghte well determyned and provided yn every condushion for to performe all and every thynge at the tyme of the said mariaje, and no thynge to be fawted in his behalfe acordeynge unto the articules thereuppon made. And so of late he hathe wretyn unto the doctor de Puebla his inbassatur acordeynge to the same. For the kynge my lorde hathe most in favor, and his highnes ys most dessiros of the consangwynyte and amyte of the kynge your suffereyn lord then of any prynce leveynge and for to take his parte and quarell ayenst all other prynces. Wherfore his hiȝghnes ys ever dessiros of augementacion of consangwynyte and amyte to be incresid by twyxt their highnesses by all the meanes that can be devised."

The said Almasan saied "For certeyn the kyng my lorde ys fully determyned for to order and rewle thys

[1] Prince Henry, Arthur being dead.

reame of Castelle for the terme of hys liffe, and not A.D. 1505.
for to menysshe nor lese therin of his onor and profite the valewe of a ben acordeynge unto the quynes laste wille and testement. For there be two thyngs that helpe hys highnes that he shuld so do; oon ys the quynes wille, and a nother the lawe of thys land gevithe that every kynge after the decesse of the quyn by whom the land movithe haveynge childer by hirre, the kynge shall governe the land for the terme of his life. And so wolle the kynge my lorde do; and so hit ys most benificiall unto thys reame that he shuld so do. For in his tyme, God be thankid that he hathe rulid thys land to their onor and profitte, and at the furst begynnynge thys land stoode in grete trobille. By the meanes of false knyȝghtes of thys land the Kynge of Portyngale had entred the land, and in his favore the Frenshe Kyng had besegeid Fountraby, where by the helpe of God, the Kynge my lorde had the victory and drave the Kynge of Portyngale for to flee the land of Castell and also his aune land and putte the Frenshemen to a rebuke. And so y trust in Allmyȝghty God that in case that any person hereafter wille atempte any thynge ayenst the Kynges hiȝghnes my lorde, that he shalbe abille for to denfend hym and thys reame. For all or the most parte of the nobills and comons of thys land be loveynge, faste and trewe unto hym; notwithstondeynge that some thoughte in mediatly after the decesse of the quyne that all the warld shuld have gon to losse, and dyverse persons have byn myndid for to make devision by twyxte the kynge and the archeduke; the whiche persons the kyng knowithe riȝght welle, notwithstandeynge they make good contenance towards the kynge. But his highnes knowithe the rancors of theire hartes; as of the duke of Anajara. And other therbe that be dessiros of trobill; butt they tharre not be knowen therof in worde nor dede. For in case that they coold ons atempte the

A.D. 1505. mater, the kynge my lorde hathe so provided that he maye distroye theym all in a daye, and that they do welle knowe. Wherfore the said duke daily wretithe unto the kynge my lorde, that he ys as faithefull and trewe unto hys hiȝghnes as any sugette that he hathe, and desirithe the kynge that his grace wille commond hym to do any service in feats of warre ayenst the Mores, or ayenst any other of his enymes, wherin his trowthe maye be knowen and shawid. And this he dissemeles with the kynge, the whiche the kynge welle knowithe hys mynd. For he wilbe at large and not come unto the corte, sayenge that he wille not come there as longe as the condestabill, his enymy, ys there, for feer that they or their servants shuld not agree; wherof variance myȝghte come nere unto the Kynges person. And for to avoide that in convenyens, he wille not come there, this ys his exscuse."

We saied unto the said Almasan "We mervele of the duke of Anajara, for we understond that at the furst comeynge of the kynge in to this land, that the said duke was faster unto his highnes then any other person, and also he ys nere of the kynge's bloode." The said Almasan saied "Trowthe ye do saye; notwithstondynge, after the decesse of the quyn, everiche of the grete lordes of this land thowȝghte in his herte for to rule and to be as a kynge. Wherfore the kynge hathe so discretely provided that nether grete ne smalle thare move for to displese his highnes. For the duke of Anajera, the Conde Debenavente and other suffer the kynges officers for to do more execucions in their lordshipes then ever was don in the life of the quyn. Wherfore God be thankid that gevythe so grete victories unto the kynge my lorde. For in his tyme he hathe distroied the erisy of thys land and expellid the infidelys, and conquerid the land of Granada and of Napules, that hathe byn the service of God and his riȝght. And so he trustithe in Almiȝghty God that

he shall hereafter over come his enymes that wille atempte any thynge ayenst his highnes." And saied "Ye shall understond that the kyng, my lorde, nowe hathe don ordeyn an armey of iiij shippes and x or xij gales, wherin thershall passe xij or xiiij m[l]. men of warre from the porte of Malike, the whiche by the grace of God shall aryve at the porte of Oran, and there for to take some enterprize yef that they can. And in case that they can not have theire purpose at the said porte of Oran, then they shall come alonge that coost un to that they shall come unto a toune that the kynge my lorde of late hathe goten there, the whiche toune ys callid Meleyla, the whiche they shall leve fortefied, and for thys tyme to come theire waye home ayen by cause of the seson of the yere. For hit ys no good makynge of warre in farre owteward partes in the wynter seson. The kynge was determyned for to have made a very grete armey into the Barbory thys yere; but he hathe byn so ocupied abowte the ordorynge of the quyne's testament that his hiȝghnes cowde not be at any laisure. Wherfore this yere he was determyned for to have made no armey in to that parties. But by cause that his Grace hathe some intelygens with a capytayn of that parties, and another cause ys for as muche as that his grace so lately hathe conquerid the land of Granada wherunto they of Barbory be full nere, and gladly the Mores desire for to have the said land of Granada ayen, therfore the kynge as at thys tyme makithe this army to the intent that the Mores shall fere for to make any armey for to passe in to the parties of Granada. Dyverse kynges of Barbory have of late sent unto the kyng my lorde for to have peas and for to leve under tribute, wherunto his hiȝghnes wille not agree, sayeng that he trustithe in God or then longe to for to make peas hym selfe in the myddes of the Barbory." A.D. 1505.

A.D. 1505. The said Almasan secretary saied "For sothe the kynge my lorde full interely lovithe the kynge archeduke his son in lawe and his highnes ys full gretely dessiros for to see hym and the quyn his wiffe in thys land; and in case that the said kynge archeduke wolle come hether and brynge his quyne with hym and be rulid and govornid by the counsaile of the kynge my lorde, he schall lacke no thynge that ys in this land and the kynge wille loveyngly resayve hym as his proper son; and in case that he wilbe govorned by other counsaile and he intend for to come unto thys land by force or other synester meanes contrary unto the wille and plesure of the kynge my lorde hys faderinlawe, the kynge wille resayve and take hym acordeyngly and as a stranger. For the kynge wille lose no thynge of hys onor, and the kynge is gretely displesid that the kynge archeduke ys so muche inclyned unto Frenshemen and that he ys so muche rulyd by Franshe counsaill, wherby he schalbe dissayvid. For as to the mariaje, of that he trustithe that ys treteid by twyxt his son and the dowȝghter of France, that shall not be holden, the Frenshemen be so sotill. For in tyme comeynge the said dowȝghter shalbe maried unto the dollfyn of France. Therfor the kynge my lorde ys sory that he shalbe so dissayved by false consaile. And a nother thynge grevis gretely the kynge my lorde, that the sayd kynge archeduke on kyndly intretithe the quyne his wiffe and not delithe with hir as a nobill estate schuldbe delyd withall. Wherwith the kynge is riȝght hevy in mynd; and thereuppon his highnes hathe wretyn his letters unto the kynge archeduke dessireynge hym that for his sake he wille remember hym selfe and remember that the quyn ys a nobill woman by whom he schall inerete grete possecions. And in case that he so wold do that he shuld have his favor and any helpe that

his highnes coude make or do, whereas yet the kynge can not understond that he intretes the quyne any better but rather every daye worsse then other. And thys hathe byn shawid unto the kynge archedukes in in[1] bassatores that be here, that in case so be that he mysseintrete the quyne and that he be rulid by the counsaile of Frenshemen and not after the counsaile of the kynge his faderinlawe, that hit wilbe to the displesure of the kynge my lorde and of the reame of Spayne but that hit shalbe to the hurt of the kynge archeduke and to the contrey of Flanders." A.D. 1505.

More the said secretary saied "The kynge my lorde gretely mervelithe of the kynge archeduke what mynd that he ys offe, for as muche that he never hathe found in hym any kynd or faste demenor nor in the kynge of Romaynes his fader. Ye schalle understond that when the kynge my lorde had fynysshed his warre in the reame of Napules and had taken trewes and made peas for serteyn yeres with the Freynshe kynge, his highnes sent ij letters, oon unto the kynge of Romaynes and another unto the archeduke, wherein he wratte unto the kynge of Romaynes that for as muche as the Freynshe kynge contrary [to[2]] rizght held the duchy of Melan the which be longithe unto theemperour, yn case so were that the said kynge of Romanes in his awne titell and quarell wold move warre ayenst the saied Freynshe kynge for the saied duchy of Mellan and that he wold come in his aune person thouzghe that he brouzght with hym but a small power, the kynge my lord promised hym for to send suche an armey ayenst the Frenshe kynge in the ayde and favor of the said kynge of Romaynes that shuld putt hym ayen in his possecion and rizghte of Melan at his aune proper cost and charge. And after that don in like case

[1] Sic in MS. [2] Omitted in MS.

A.D. 1505. he wratte unto the archeduke that in case that the Freynshe kynge wold not delyver unto hym all that be longithe unto the duchey of Burgoyn that he wold in his favor at his awne proper coste and charge send suche an armey bothe by land and by water that the said archeduke shuldbe putt in possecion therof. Off the whiche causes the said kynge of Romaynes nor the archeduke never made aunshwer un to the kynge my lorde, but in contenently thereuppon the said kynge and archeduke on knoweynge and with owte consaile or a sent of the kynge my lorde, they toke a fynall peas and concorde with the Freynshe kynge in the whiche amyte and peas they made no mencyon of the kynge my lorde nor of the kynge of Ynglond yowr lord, nor of non other prynces, exsepte oonly theym three, all as oon, jontely bounde theym selfe they for to take everyche others parte ayenst all other prynces of the warld. The whiche the kynge my lorde takithe for agrete on kyndnes. That not withstondeynge, in case that the kynge archeduke wille come in to the reame of Castell with the quyne hys wiffe and welle intrete hir as a nobill woman and by the consent and counsaile of the kynge my lorde his faderinlawe the kynge wille loveyngly resayve hym in to his howse as his son. And otherwise not; for the kynge wille not be over masterd within his aune lands; and by suche deleynge the archeduke hathe lost and shall lose the love of the comeunes of thys land."

The saied secretary saied that he had seyn the copy of the articules that we had delyverd unto the kynge, and saied that hit agreid with the booke that the doctor de Puebla had by fore sent. Notwithstondynge he saied that the secretary was gretely to be blamed that wratte the same bookes. We askid the cause whye, and he saied "For they be not in deferently made; for by the same articules the kynge my lorde

ys bounde at alltymes requerid for to ayde the Kynge of Ynglond your lorde with his armey at his aune proper cost and charge; and the kynge your lorde ys not so bounde to do; wherin there ys no deferency." And we saied that there ys no thynge putt in the said articules but by the a sent of the inbassatores of Spayne. Wherunto he aunshewerd and saied, "The kynge hathe made anshewer and wretyn his mynd in that be halfe unto the doctor de Puebla." And saied "The Kynge of Ynglond your sofereyn lorde maye be well in sewred that the kynges highnes my lorde lovithe and trustithe his brother the Kynge of Ynglond more and above all other prynces, and fully ys determyned for to take his parte as hit were his aune." And saied "The kynge my lorde hathe grete mervele what that the Kynge of Romaynes and the Kynge archeduke do intende. For nowe of late the saied kynges have invested the Frenshe kynge in to the duchey of Melan. But trust ye verely when that the Frenshemen have that they do dessire, the archeduke shalbe disayvid, and the Kynge of Romaynes also; for that they do ys of theire aune myndes and with owte a sent of the kynges yowr lord and myn, wherof in tyme to come they wille repent." A.D. 1505.

More the said secretary saied "Wheras the kynges grace of Yngland ys dessiros for to have the rebell[1] that ys forthe of his land, so that his highnes myȝghte have hym by the mean of the kynge my lorde rather then by any other mean, ye shall knowe for a trowthe that the kynge my lorde remembrithe that mater as efectually as that hit were his aune proper cause. And his hiȝghnes had trustid that he shuld have byn had long or thys tyme. But his grace theroff was dissayvid by his in bassatur, the whiche ys in the Kynge of Romaynes corte. And not only the said inbassatur hathe

[1] Edmund Delapole earl of Suffolk.

A.D. 1505. disayvid the kynge my lorde in that mater but also in many other causes and maters of his aune. Wherfore the kynge my lorde ys gretely displesid with the same inbassatur." We desired for to knowe the inbassatores name, and he saied that his name ys Don John Manawell, the whiche wratte experessly unto the kynge my lorde that the said rebell shuldbe delyvered unto hym by a certeyn daye with owte any faile. "Wheruppon the kynge my lorde had apoyntid with the said hys inbassatur that after that the said rebell were so had that he shuldbe sent unto Napules for the most sewer convayans; and there he schuld have byn delyverd unto the capytayn Gonsalo Fernandes. Wheruppon the kynge wratte unto Gonsalo Fernandes that he shuld resayve and savely kepe the said rebell unto suche tyme that the kynge your suffereyn lordes plesure were knowen, and then the said rebell to be delyverd unto suche persons as that his highnes shuld plese and command. All the whiche the said Gonsalo Fernandes was redy for to have don yef the case had so fortunyd, but the said inbassatur wroȝghte not just nor trewly; and afterwards by sotill crafte, when that the said rebell was escapid, he wratte his escape unto the kynge, sayenge that he went that he had byn sewer of the said rebell and that his owne weteynge that he was departeid to the duke of Gelders. Where with the Kynge my lorde ys displesid with the said in bassatur and hathe discharged hym of hys rome and wille putt another there." Wherfore the said secretary saied "In case that y were of the kynge yowr lordes consaile y wold have the said rebell by on mean or other. And in case that the Kynge of Romaynes and the kynge archeduke do well agree and contenewe in amyte with the kynge my lorde y dowte not but that the said rebell shall schortely be had by the mean of the kynge my master; for his highnes myndithe the mater as hit were hys aune."

We askid of the said secretary where that he thouȝght whether that the kyng his lorde were disposid for to mary ayen or not. And he saied that "the kynge ys determyned never for to mary in case that the archeduke do dele well and kyndly with hym. And in case so be that the kynge archeduke wille dele onkyndly with hym then he wolle mary and do that his grace was not myndid for to do. For the kynge ys fully determyned in case that he maye leve in peas and reste with all cristenid prynces that he wolle aplye his hiȝghnes all to the warres ayenst the Mores and infideles. For where of late dyverse kynges of the parties of Barbory have sent unto the kynge my lorde that some of theym dessire for to paye muche money for to leve in peas and some dessire for to leve under tribute. Wherunto the kynges hiȝghnes wille not grant unto theym; sayenge that he trustys hym selfe, by the helpe of God, for to make peas in the mydds of Barbory or then long to." A.D. 1505.

Yowr grace shall understond that byfore owr comeynge un to Valencia hit was a grete sayenge there that mariaje was concludid by thywxt your highnes and the yonge Quyn of Napules. We inquerid whereof thys speche shuld furst come, the whiche was anshewerd unto us by oon Pascarell, the which ys a Napotalian and potecary unto the Quynes of Napules, the whiche saied that the Kynge of Aragon had sent secretely unto the said quynes two freres observants, the whiche by the kynges comandament movid of the cause for yowr grace; unto whom the old Quyn made the anshewer that she intendyd for to be with the kynge hir brother and then she wold unto hym make the anshewer suche as shuld plese hym.

Where on the xxviij daye of July the old Quyn of Napules cam unto the cite of Segovya and the Kynge roode forthe the daye by fore and mette hir at a vilaje v legs thens. And so cam they in company unto

A.D. 1505. the cite, and there the quyn was loged in the castell, where on the thrid daye after that the kynge went unto the castell for to have comenicacion with the quyn his suster. And as the comon voyse was that the especiall cause was consernynge yowr highnes for that mariaje. And there the Kynge laye ij nyȝghts, and oon a Sondaye in the mornynge retornid ayen unto hys aune logeynge and not contentid with some maters that had passid by twyxt the Quyn and hym as we coude perceyve and understond that the said old Quyn lovythe so much the Quyn hir dowȝghter that she can not forbere hir company. And grete labor ys made by the Napolitans that the yonge quyn myȝghte be maried unto the duke of Calabrya to theintente that he shuldbe Kynge of Napules. Wherunto the old quyn ys gretely inclyned for that she knowthe that contrey and hathe possecions therein. Where unto the Kynge of Aragon wille not condesent nor agree. Hit hathe be movid unto the said Kynge that he shuld mary the yonge Quyn his nice; and in case that the mariaje had not byn concludid by twyxt my lorde the prynce and my lady the prynces, that then my lady the prynces shuld have byn maried unto the duke of Calabrya and after the decesse of the Kynge of Aragon they to have byn Kynge and Quyn of Napules. We understondynge thys on a daye y John Stile beynge in comeunicacion with Almasan the secretary, unto whom y saied "Sir, ye knowe welle that y and my company were at Valencya with the quynes of Napules, unto whom we browȝghte letters from my lady the Prynces of Wales, theire nice and cussyn, the whiche lady prynces as anobill lady ys gretely desiros for to hire of theire nobill prosperites; for she had never seyn the yonge quyn hir cussyn."

Wherefore y saied that at my beynge at Valencya y had dessired for to have had the pictur of the yonge quyn for to have brouȝghte hit unto my said lady the

prynces. Whereun[1] the old quyn y saied wold no grante in no wise. The said secretary saied "Y knowe rizght welle the cause of yowr beynge at Valencya. Trowthe hit ys that all wemen be strange at the furst, yet afterwards they be reformyd; and so wille and shalle theis quynes be. For in case that the said yonge quyn were here ye shuld have the pictor of hir with yow. In case that ye had furst comen by the kynge my lorde, his hizghnes wold have causid yow for to have had the pictor and other thyngs that ye wold have dessyred. But for so muche as that she ys not here at thys tyme, hit can not be had exsepte that ye wille retorne to Monvedro, where as nowe she ys. Notwithstandeynge as tucheynge that mater that ye cam for unto Valencya, the kynge my lorde wolle and hathe ordored the mater as hit shalbe plesure unto the Kynge of Ynglond your suffereyn lorde. For the kynges highnes my lorde tenders and favorithe all and everiche of his causes as his aune; and yn case that his hizghnes had in his power that he hathe not, that ys, the Prynce Charles of Spayne, his grace wold make a nother maryaje by twyxt hym and the dowzghter[2] of the kynge your lorde, for of a trowthe the kynge my lorde ys firmely sette for to awgement and in crese amyte for ever by twyxt the reame of Ynglond, Spayne, and Aragon all that he can or maye by fore all othe regyons. And therfore yet he trustithe that he shall brynge that mater abowte; yef not God makes eyres every daye. The which he ment by the kynge archdukes son that ys in Castele.

A.D. 1505.

11. Item, whether the lawes and matiers of justice, proclamacions and ordenances, and other acts concernyng the ruling of the reame passe by writings in

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[1] Sic in MS.

[2] The Princess Mary.

A.D. 1505. *his awne name as king or administrator, orells in the name of the King and Quene of Castele.*

Your grace shall understond that all proclamacions wreteyngs and comaundaments be made in the Quyn Donia Joanes name and the Kynge Don Fernando as govornor and administrator of the reames of Castell and Lions, Granada and Cicelya, for the said quyn his dowȝghter; and of the archeduke ys no mencion made of hym in any suche causes.

12. Item, whether ther be any ambassadors of any outwarde parties, and specially of Ffrance, resorting to that courte, and for what matiers they repaire thidder.

Yowr grace shall understond that at owr comeynge un to the kynges corte there was an inbasatur of the Kynge of Romans, the whiche inbassatur was some tyme a secretary un to the duke of Melan. We cowde not understond nor knowe what causes or maters that the said inbassatur there solucitid; but he contenewaly kepid company with Monsieur de Verey, the whiche ys the Kynge archedukes inbassatur there. And some tyme we sawe the saied inbassatur with the Kynge in open place but never that he fowlad for to sewe any maters in the corte. And the kynge archedukes inbassatur cam but selden in the corte for he was so diseasid of his lege that he passid not his logeynge. Also there ys an inbassatur of Venice the whiche hathe contewnid there a yere or more.

Also there were vj or vij inbassaturs of the cite of Napules and of other cites and townes of the reame that cam to the kynge for maters and ordorynge of the hoole reame of Napulys.

As for in bassatures of the parties of France there were non, nor we hard of non comeynge thether wards. And by all thyngs that we cowde hire and understond

that the kynge nor his lords nor counsaile nor non of that land, grete ne small, favor nor trust the Frenshemen, but that they be rizght sore displesid that the kynge archewde[1] ys so gretely rulid as that they do thynke by the counsaile of Frenshemen. A.D. 1505.

13. Item, to enquere what auctoritie doctor de Puebla is with the king ther, his counseill, the nobles and the communes of that reame.

Your grace shall understond that the doctor de Puebla, by that we can persayve and understond, ys gretely in the favor of the kynge, and of suche of his counsaile that do knowe hym, and in specially he ys gretely in the favor off Almasan the secretary. But for the contenewance of the said doctor hathe byn absent from that parties, dyverse and many of the lords and of the counsaile and comeunes do not knowe hym; notwithstondeynge suche as that knewe hym when that he was coregeador and juge in dyverse places of that land they do comende hym for the admenisterynge of good justice.

14. Item, whether ther be good obeissance to the King of Aragon, and what justice is ministred ther by hym.

Plesithe yowr grace that we can not understond but that the moste parte bothe the nobills and the comeunes of the lands of Spayne and Aragon be obedyent and loveynge un to the afore said kynge; for he menistres very good justice unto theym as that they can desire. Wherfore they do fynd theym welle

[1] Sic in MS.

A.D. 1505. contentid with hym in all thynges, saveynge only they saye that he ys gretely in clyned to covytewes and sore charges theym with taskes. Wherfore they be gretely dessiros that the kynge archeduke schuld come and the quyn, the whiche they do trust wolbe more favorabill unto the comeunes then this kynge ys in suche causes.

15. Item, to enquere howe it standeth betwixte the King of Aragon and the King of Portingale. And whether ther be any favor or intelligence betwixte the King of Romaynes and the said King of Aragon, discorde or debate.

Yowr grace schall understond that we kowde have non understondynge but that the Kynge of Portyngale muche lovithe and favorithe the said Kynge of Aragon his fader in lawe and that in tyme of hys nede that he wolle fully take his parte as his awne ayenst any other prynce, notwithstondeynge that the said kynges kepe hit secrete to theym selfe as thowȝghe that the Kynge of Portyngale melles nor moves not. And where at the Kynge of Aragons beynge at atowne callid Touro that ys on the marches of Portyngale, the quyn hys douȝghter wold have comen unto hym; but he wold not suffer hirre, as hit ys sayed, by cause of mornynge for dethe of the quyne.

Hit was openly schawid and saied at owr beynge at Valencia that the Kynge of Aragon shuld sewerly be maryed, and that he was maried all redy un too the lady of Spayne callid the Excelenta that was callid Kynge Harrys douȝghter of Spayne, that was weddid unto the Kynge Alfonso of Portyngale; whiche was not so, as hit was shawid at Valencya as hit aprovid after in dede. Also on atyme beynge in owr company ij herawdes of armes, the oon callid Aragon and the other Toledo, they shawid unto us in Segovia

that where in many yeres paste the said lady of Spayne that ys callid the Excelenta hathe with grete ward byn kepid in a nonry by sides Lixborne; and that nowe of late dais the Kynge of Portyngale had taken the said lady forthe of that nonry, and with a grete and onorabill company had brouzghte hir to Lixborne unto his pales and corte; and so onorabilly intretes hir, for what intent of a sewerty we can not knowe nor perceyve. A.D. 1505.

Plesithe yowr grace, we cowde never have parfite understondynge for what mater or cause that theinbassatur of the Kynge of Romans contenewthe in the corte of Spayne, but for to be contenewally there for to lerne tydeyngs whatso fortune, and to kepe company with the kynge archedukes inbassatur. For the Kynge Don Fernando of Aragon hathe no confidens nor trust un to the Kynge of Romaynes; for he saiethe that he never found hym constant nor stedffast in any cause.

16. Item, to undrestande in what auctoritie Fferdinande Duke is taken in the King of Aragons courte, and in what reputacion or office he is.

Plesithe yowr grace that in as muche as we can understond that Farnando Duke sone after his comeynge home in to the corte of Castell, the quyne decessid, for she was seke or that he cam. Wherfore he had not many words nor comeunicacion with her. And sithen the dissece of the quyn he hathe made labore unto the kynge for to be in the office and rome that he had by fore that he cam unto yowr grace as an bassator. And so by hys labore the kynge hathe admyttid hym to be oon of hys masters de Sala as by fore tyme he was. And so in the corte he ys holden and taken for an onest, wise jantalman. At

A.D. 1505. owr comeynge un to Segovya he was not there; for he was departidd thens iiij dais by fore that homewards to his wiffe, for she was sore seke. And he cam a yent un to the corte thre dais by fore owr departeynge thens, and he cam thether verry seke. With whom we spake; the whiche with a good and loveynge mynd schawid un to us good words, recomandynge hym unto yowr most nobill grace and spekeynge lawdabill words of your highnes and of your nobill land, and saied that he shalbe ever yours.

As hit was schawid unto us that the quyn of Castell was sore displesid with hym by cause that he toke so muche rule on hym in my lady the pryncesse howse, wheruppon Donya Elvira Manawell had wretyn and complayned, the whiche the quyn laid unto his charge, sayenge that she sent hym for hir ynbassatur ynto Ynglond and not for to rule hir dowȝghter nor hir howsehold, for the quyne was in fermid that he intendid for to have hys wiffe in to Ynglond and to rule the pryncesse at hys plesure, wherwith the quyn was sore grevid.

17. Item, what attendance he hath abouts hym of lords and nobles of his reame; and what corte and what estate he kepeth; and what ordre and conversacion he useth; and whether he be moche present in his counseill, or remitteth th'ordering of his causes and matiers to his said counsaill; and what disports and passetymes he useth.

Yowr grace schall understond that the said kynge had in his corte atendeynge on hym of the speritualty, the Archebysshoppe off Toledo that ys a graye freer observant; and the Archebyshoppe of Civille, that ys a blacke freer observant; the Bisshoppe of Cordoa, presedent of his counsaill; the Bysshoppe of Palencya, the

Bysshoppe of Terrasona, the Bysshoppe of Osma, and Don Alonso the Almyrantes brother, and other many prests; and of temporall lordes the Condestabill of Castell, the Duke de Alva, the Duke of Calabrya, the Almyrante of Castell, the Conde de Melgar the Almerantes brother, the Duke de Alborkerke, Don John de Cabrera that ys chamberleyn, the Markes de Dene that ys steward, the Markes de Moyea that ys condestabill of the castell of Segovya, and the comendador mayor of the order of Calatrava, that ys a nobill man. And for as muche as that the Kynge hym selfe ys master of all the thre ordores, that ys to say of Sant Jamys, Calatrava, and Alcantara, therfore in the corte ys contenewally i.c. or mo of the same knyȝghtes that be ever redy to ride or goe geveynge atendans on the kynge. The said kynge ussithe every daye for to rise contenewally by fore vj of the clocke, and by for viij of the clocke he hathe hard ij masses; and after the masses don yef he fast not he goes to his dyner in achambur where every man may se hym. He ys a good feder and eets his mete lustely, and dryngs two grete drauȝghtes of wyne and water at hys dyner and no more. He sittes never past halfe an owr at his tabill, and non other person sittes with hym. When his highnes hathe dyned, every lord and other goe to theire logeynges to dyner; for in the cort dynes no man but only the kynge. A.D. 1505.

18. Item, to marke well his personage, his age, complexion, habilitie and lustynes, and whether he be towards any mariage, or that ther be any speche therof, and to marke his maner, stature, gesture, complexion, age and countenance, and of what saddenesse and gravitie he is of.

Yowr grace shall understond that the said kynge ys a goodly maner of personage and of a sangwyn

A.D. 1505. complexion and rizght lusty of his age, for he ys of the age of lv or lvj yere old; and yn his comewnicacion he hathe a smyleynge contenance. And some what the said kynge lispes in his speche, the cause thereof we thynk ys of a tothe the whiche he lacks by fore. And in his spekeynge and smyleynge he hathe a litell caste with his lefte eye. And he hathe bothe personage and visaje all of a good favor, like a man of a groce and stronge nature. And as tucheynge mariaje, hit was playnly saied at owr beynge at Valencia that he was or shuldbe maried un to the Excelenta that ys in Portyngale, wherwith many of that parties rejoysid. And also in owr comewnycacion with Almasan hys secretary we demandid of hym wher that he thouzghte where ever the kynge wold marie ayen or not; and he saied yef ever that he mary, the archeduke shalbe causer thereof. For in case that the archeduke do dele well, playn and loveyngly with the kynge he wold then never mary. In case that he dele otherwyse, he shall cause hym for to do that thynge that he ys not myndid for to do.

At Blayes hit was shawid unto us by my lord Herbert that the Frenshe kynge had shawid unto hym that the said Kynge of Aragon shuld marye in France a yonge lady callid Madama de Foyes, wherof we hard no moshyon in Spayne at owr beynge there.

At owre beynge in the corte of Spayne hit was schawid un to us by a chapellyn that was dene of my lady the prynces chapell, whoes name ys Sir Alisander Garatyn, that dyverse moshions have byn made unto the said kynge by hys counsaile that he shuld marye, unto the whiche he wold never grante for a certeyn diseas the whiche he hathe under his syde. Wherfore his feshecians advise and concell his highnes not for to marye.

19. Item, whether he be reputed to be of grete substance of richesse or not. A.D. 1505.

Yowr grace shall understond that the said kynge ys reputed for to be very riche. For as long as the quyn lyved, he spent no thynge of his revenews of the reames of Aragon and Cicella; but he had acerteyn[1] owte of the croune of Castell for to mayntene his astate withall. And so he ever getherid agrete tresor, the whiche he hathe don always to be kepeid in the castell of Schatyva, that ys vj or viij leges from Valencya.

20. Item, to understande what favor the men of warre of that parties bere unto hym.

Yowr grace schall understond that the men of warre rizght much do favor and love the said kynge, and the said kynge conteneually hathe v.c. speres lyenge yn dyverse places abowte hym; some xx leges, some xiiij or xv leges from hym. And also he hathe causid lx. m^{l}. of hys aune comeunes for to use theym selfe in the feats of warre after the maner of the Swytheners with marys pykes, handgons and halberds unto the whiche they be verry appte. Wherof the said kynge hathe alredy a c. persons in his gard goynge afote when that he ridithe un to any place or jorney.

21. Item, to enquere whether ther be any warre betwixte hym and the Mores, or betwixte hym and any other outwarde parties, and whether the reame of Naples be in good obeissance unto the said King of Aragon or not; and in what state and condicion that reame nowe standeth, and whether his capitain in Naples obbeye unto hym or not.

Yowr grace shall understond that the said kynge thys yere nowe of late makithe warre ayenst the Moris

[1] Sic in MS.

A.D. 1505. of Barbory, and in specially he intendithe a yenst the Kynge of Oran; for the whiche he hathe provided in the porte of Malike iiij shippes and x or xij galis wherin shall passe xij or xiiij m[l]. men to be landid. The whiche armey was redy to departe from Malike by the x[t] day of Awgust; and in case that they shuld faile of their enterprise at Oran then they to come alonge the cost of Barbory to atoune that he hathe there callid Mellila, and for to reffreshe that towne and then for to returne home ayen for thys yere for by cause of the wynter. For the next yere he intends by Godes grace to make a grete armey at the begynynge of the yere.

And as for the reame of Napullis ys fully and hoole under the obaysyens of the Kynge of Aragon, and the Capytan Gonsalo Farnandes ys full just, trewe and obedyent unto the said kynge his master; but the comons of the contrey of Napulls be not very well content with the capytayn, sayenge that he pillys them sore and latys not theym for to have their lyberties. Wherfore ther be dyverse in bassatores of the cites and contrey and townes with the said kynge that do sewe for their liberties. So hit ys said that the kynge wille send the archebysshoppe of Saragosa, that ys his bastard sone, thether for to be govornor there and the Napolitans dessire for to have the duke of Calabrya; wherof the kynge wilnot so.

22. Item, that dailly and nightly they putte in writing all things by theym seen and herde that they shall thinke wurthy to be remembred according to these instruccions, and every poincte and article of the same.

Item, the kinges said servantes at their being in the kinges corte of Aragon shall, at some convenient tyme and season when they shall thinke good, by as discrete wayes as they can use, as of theymself make an overture and remembrance to some substanciall

persone or personnes of the kinges secrete counseill A.D. 1505.
ther howe that the spouselles and matrimonye be contractid and made betwene my lord the prynce of Wales, the kinges son and heire, and the ladie Katheryn princesse and doughter to the said King of Aragon. And that the tyme of the solempnisacion of the matrimonye dailly approcheth and draweth nigh more and more, whiche shalbe aboutes myddesomer come twelmonethes aftre the date of these instruccions; whiche shalbe in the yere of our lord m'cccccvj. Wherfor, inasmoche as the kinges highnesse hath doon and entendeth to performe almaner poincts and articles concernyng the perfeccion of the said matrimonye according to his promise in that behalf, they suppose and thinke verailly that the said king wolbe remembred of the said tyme, and against the same provide, that all convencions and promyses made for his part concernyng thesaid mariage, aswell for payment of the doote as for all other things contayned and specified in th'articles therfor devised and concluded, shalbe performed and fulfilled in every behalf. And that they note well what answer shall bee yeven unto theym upon that overture and remembrance, putting the same in writing at lengthe to bee shewed to the kinges highnesse at their retorne.

Plesithe yowr grace that thys articule ys awnshewerd byfore in the comeunicacion had with Almasan the secretary in articule [x.[1]]

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[1] Blank in MS.

A NARRATIVE OF THE RECEPTION OF PHILIP KING OF CASTILE IN ENGLAND IN 1506.

A.D. 1506. THE 7th day of January, the 21st year of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the Seventh, Philip, king of Castile, archduke of Austria, duke of Burgoyne, &c., and the queen his wife, accompanied with many of the nobility of Basse Germany, Henaute, Flanders, and Artoys, to the number of two or three thousand, as I am informed, took their ships in Zealand, and so passed before Calais by night, shooting guns, having great torches lit in his and divers other ships, trumpets and minstrels playing and singing, with great pomp passing the narrow seas. Which mirth was shortly afterwards turned into great heaviness; for three days following they were all sparkeled and in danger to have been drowned. And the Thursday being the 16th day of January the said 21st year of king Henry the Seventh by fear of the said right great and mighty tempest was driven to land the said Philip, king of Castile, and the queen his wife with him, &c., which lay at anchor the Thursday all day beside Weymouth, and the Friday landed at Melcombe alone without any other ships being at that time in his company; but afterwards there came to the same port two small barks of his. All his other ships were sparkled, some to Rye, Winchester, Dartmouth, Falmouth, and Wales: some were drowned. For he went to take possession of the realms of Castile, Lyones and Granada. And as soon as he was

Philip King of Castile meets with a storm at sea;

16 Jan.

and lands in England.

arrived he sent the king word, calling him father, of his great trouble and jeopardy on the sea, and showed and ascertained him how he was applicked to his realm, and to understand his pleasure; for he was deliberate to do that thing that might please him, and also to see him and his Court. Howbeit, as I understand by the report of some of his servants Burgoigniones, the Spaniards counselled him to the contrary, and would have caused him to take the sea again if they might have ruled him, and some of them would have kept them in manner by force with them. A.D. 1506.

And immediately, as soon as the king had received the king of Castile's letter, he was right glad of the tidings, and that his son the king of Castile and the queen had escaped so great danger; for the said king of Castile and the queen his wife had been by the space of forty-eight hours that they looked hourly to have perished in the sea. And incontinent the king sent letters to gentlemen dwelling near the seaside there, to feast him and the queen his wife, and to attend upon him, and to do him as great cheer and pleasure as they would do to his own person if he were there present; after incontinently sent divers of his menial servants, and after sent Sir Thomas Brandone and divers other gentlemen with hobbyes, palfreys, litters, &c., and after him he sent other servants.

King Henry receives him at Windsor, 31 Jan.

Memorandum, that the 31st of January, which was on a Saturday in the year of our Lord 1505, and the 21st year of our sovereign lord king Henry VII., his highness received the king of Castile at his castle of Windsor in manner as followeth. First, his grace rode towards the said king of Castile a mile or more out of Windsor, and there in an arable field met with him, and when the king's company approached near to the said king of Castile some stood on one part

A.D. 1506. and some on the other part, and so made a lane that the two kings might meet together. And when the king of Castile perceived the king he took off his hat, and in like manner the king took off his, and with a loving and glad countenance each saluted and embraced other. The king with many other good words welcomed him to his realm, and the king of Castile with humble and loving words smilingly thanked the king of the great honors that he did him, and also for the great pleasure and kindness that the king had showed and done unto him sith his arrival, and at divers times before; and the said king took the king of Castile of his left hand, and in good ordinance rid towards the said castle of Windsor, the officers of arms bearing their coats of arms, and the king of of[1] the said kings, and so by the way, &c. The earl of Derby bare the sword right before the king. It is to be noted that there was many noble very well appointed, both with cloth of gold and goldsmith's work, as my lord marquis,[2] the earl of Kent, the earl of Derby, the lord Henry Stafford, with many and divers other nobles and gentlemen.

And conducts him to the castle.

And when the kings were entered the first gate of the castle the minstrels and sackbuts played. And when they approached the place where they alighted, the king of Castile tarried and would have alighted afore the king; but the king would not suffer him, but took him forth with him, and so lighted both at once, the king of Castile somewhat yet before the king; and in like order the lords and other noblemen went before the kings through the nether gallery towards the hall. And as the king perceived that the king of Castile's hat was off he took off his hat and would not do it on till the king of Castile was

[1] Sic in MS. [2] Of Dorset.

almost ready to do on his; and so went up the stairs, and so passed through the upper gallery to the king's great chamber, which was richly hanged with cloth of arras and a great rich bed in the same chamber, where remained the knights and esquires; and from thence to the second chamber which was also richly hanged, where remained barons and bannerets. From thence to the third chamber, which was hanged with a very rich arras, in the which there was a cloth of estate and as rich a bed as I have seen; where remained the bishops, earls, and officers that attended upon him. And from thence would have conveyed the king of Castile to the fourth chamber, which was all hanged with rich cloth of gold, the border above of crimson velvet and embroidered with the king's arms, with other the king's devices, as roses, portcullises, &c.; but the king of Castile excused him, and said that the king should not take the pains to convey him to his lodging. Then the king showed him that all that he had passed through was and should be his lodgings, and that the king thought that place honored by his coming, and called him son, and said that he was as welcome unto him as though he had been his own natural son, and that his coming was not only most agreeable and joyful to him but to all his subjects, and that that room and all his servants should be at the commandment of the said king of Castile, and that he should think he were come to his own father's house; and so desired him to go at his pleasure to dinner or to shift him. But when the king of Castile perceived that that great lodgings was for him, he thanked the king bareheaded (for he had taken off his hat a little before), and said that he was sorry that the king had taken so much labor and pains for him, and for any words or thing that the king could do he would convey the king to his lodging, and so he did. And after the king had showed him his chamber and

A.D. 1506.

A.D. 1506. would he should take no further pains the king would have somewhat reconveyed him, but the king of Castile would not suffer it, and so they intersaluted the one the other and departed. The king remained in his chamber and the king of Castile went to his, and so they both went to dinner every each in his own chamber, for it was fasting day and Our Lady Even. The king of Castile's officers and servants served their own lords.

Memorandum, that as soon as the king came into the third chamber he took the great lords of the king of Castile by the hand; and immediately after, as the king had done, the king of Castile took off his bonnet and took the most of the great lords by the hands, as the lord marquis with other which were attendant upon the king. And within a two hours afterwards came my lady princess with her company to the said castle, and so went to her lodgings. And after supper was done the king of Castile took with him but one torch and five or six gentlemen, and privily went to visit the king. And whereas a gentleman usher and other would have warned the king, he held them back [with[1]] his own hands, and said he would warn the king of his coming first himself; and so came he to the king's secret chamber door unwares of the king, and so communed together, which was great sign of perfect love. And whereas the king would have reconveyed him he would in no wise the king should take the pains, and so departed for that night.

1 Feb. Sunday at the court. And in the morrow, being Sunday the first day of February, the king being lodged in the queen's lodging went from his chamber to the chapel, having so many noblemen before him that it was long time or they might well pass. The lord Henry Stafford bare the

[1] Om. in MS.

sword, and in the right hand at the upper end of the choir of the said chapel there was ordained a very large travars of cloth of gold, in the which the king sat and heard the mass, which was sung by the bishop of Chichester *in pontificalibus*. And after mass the king went to visit the king of Castile, which that day heard mass in the closet within his own lodging. And when the king of Castile understood that the king came towards him, he hastily came and met the king at the second chamber door, for in the third chamber stood the king's guard all along. And at the meeting the king of Castile took off his bonnet and made low curtsey, and bad the king good morrow. And the king said that he could not have well dined that day unless he had seen him and bid him good morrow. The king of Castile thanked the king of his great courtesy and pain; and so with divers other good words they both proceeded together to the king of Castile's dining chamber and both stood by the fire together. A.D. 1506.

And after they had a while communed together the king desired him to tarry there still, but he excused him and said that he would convey the king to his lodging; and so the king took him on his left hand and went to the second chamber. And there the king desired him to tarry there, but he would not. And from thence they went together to the third chamber door, where the king stopped and said that he had given him too much pain to have gone so far; and there the king had much ado to make him tarry, and said that he would rather reconvey him than he should go any further. Then answered the king of Castile and said, "I see right well that I must needs do your commandment, and to obey as reason will." And there was no sword borne within the king of Castile's lodging, which after mass was borne. So for that time departed and the king returned to his chamber to dinner, and the king of Castile returned in like manner to his chamber to dinner.

A.D. 1506. And after dinner the king sent to the king of Castile to understand whether it would please him to see the ladies dance for pastime, inasmuch as it was holiday and might not hunt, &c.; which answered that gladly. And a little before, by the king's commandment my lord Herberd voided all the king's chamber except lords and officers and certain knights of great haveour which remained there still. And when the king understood that the king of Castile was coming he went to the door of the great chamber and there received him and desired him to take him by the arm, or else the king of Castile would not have taken so much upon him but by the king's desire. And so both together went through that chamber, the king's dining chamber, and from thence to an inner chamber where was my lady princess[1] and my lady Mary the king's daughter, and divers other ladies. And after the king of Castile had kissed them and communed awhile with the king and the ladies, all they came into the king's dining chamber where danced my lady princess and a Spanish lady with her in Spanish array. And after she had danced two or three dances she left, and then danced my lady Mary and a English lady with her. And ever among[2] the lady princess desired the king of Castile to dance, which after that he had excused him once or twice answered that he was a mariner, "And yet," said he, "ye would cause me to dance!" And so he danced not but communed still with the king. And after that my lady Mary had danced two or three dances she went and sat by my lady princess upon the end of the carpet which was under the cloth of estate and near where the king and the king of Castile stood. And then danced one of the strange lords and a lady of England. That done my lady Mary played on the

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[1] Catherine of Arragon. [2] Sic in MS.

lute, and after upon the claregalles; who played very well, and she was of all folks there greatly praised that of her youth in everything she behaved herself so very well. A.D. 1506.

And then immediately after came the archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops and the dean of the Chapel in their amyses, and showed the king that it was evensong time, and there tarried his pleasure. And within a while after both kings arm in arm having their noblemen before them went both to the chapel and so to the said great traverse of cloth of gold and sat within it both together, every one having his cushion. And at the entering of the traverse the king preferred the king of Castile to the upper hand[1], but he refused it, and so the king took it himself; and so heard evensong together. And the bishop of Canterbury which did the divine service sat in the dean's stall, and the dean next him. And after evensong the king had appointed to convey him to his lodging; and from the chapel door to the king's chamber stood the king's guard all along. And when the king and the king of Castile were entered the chamber, one of the king of Castile's lords that was of the order of the Toison warned him that it was his lodging; and incontinent he answered and said "That blame have I and I wist it," and so wrestled with the king and said that the king should not convey him to his lodging, but that he would turn back and convey him to his, and with divers other words. The king answered that in any wise he would see him in his lodging; and so they went both together through that chamber and the second. And when the king came to the door of the king of Castile's dining chamber there is another

[1] Qy. *end?*

A.D. 1506. door that goeth into a closet and so to the king's chamber. And when they were at the king's chamber door the king of Castile would no further till the door was opened. And whereas the king would have seen him in his chamber and drew back he said by his faith that he would convey the king to his lodging; and so the king of Castile went sidling into the closet and drew the king in by the arm (all the lords and other noblemen, except officers, remained at the door in the other chamber) and so returned to the king's lodging, and both kings departed in an entry by the king's secret chamber where every each of them had good words the one to the other, and so went to their own chambers. And so separately for that night they supped every each of them in their own lodging, and this accomplished for that day.

2 Feb. Candlemas day. And in the morrow the second day of February that was Candlemas day both kings met secretly together and so came to the king's dining chamber, having their noblemen before them. But there was so many that it was long time or they might well pass through the chambers. The earl of Derby bare the king's sword. And when the king entered the chapel they both together went to the travares, and there abode till the candles were hallowed; which were hallowed by the archbishop of Canterbury[1], which that day sang the high mass *in pontificalibus*, the bishop of Chichester[2] gospeller, the bishop of Norwich[3] epistoler, the bishop of Rochester[4] bare the archbishop of Canterbury's cross, all *in pontificalibus*. And after, in good order, both kings went a procession round about the hall. The king's taper was borne by

[1] William Warham.
[2] Richard Fitzjames, afterwards bishop of London.
[3] Richard Nikke or Nyx.
[4] John Fisher.

the earl of Kent, and the king of Castile's taper was borne by the lord Ville, knight of the order of the Toison. The king's taper had a close crown and the king of Castile's an open crown. Garter and Toison d'Or having on their coats of arms, every each went before his own lord and master, and the other officers of arms went before as appertaineth. It was a right goodly sight to see so many noblemen, and so well appointed, all other in cloth of gold, velvet, and silk, and with so many goodly chains of fine gold and of great weight. And so returned to the chapel and traverse again, and there heard mass. A.D. 1506.

And after mass the king returned by the king of Castile's lodging, and would have conveyed the king of Castile to his dining room, but he would not the king should take the pains. And so the king entered by the closet door to his chamber, and there the king of Castile departed to his, and every each of the kings dined in his own lodging. And after dinner both kings met together in the king's secret chamber, and from thence both together went to the chapel, where they heard a sermon in French. And immediately as the sermon was done they went to evensong; and after evensong both kings returned to their lodgings in like manner as they did after mass, and every each of them supped severally in his own chamber. It is to be noted that both kings offered at once, the king of Castile somewhat after the king, and were sensed; and thus accomplished that day.

The Tuesday the third day of February both kings heard mass in their own closets, and after dinner went a hunting in the little park where every each of the kings killed certain deer [with[1]] their own hands with their crossbows. 3 Feb.

[1] Omitted in MS.

A.D. 1506. 4, 5 Feb. The Wednesday and Thursday, the 4th and 5th day of February, both kings were at council every each with his own council, for every prince had his council by himself because the weather was foul and rained, or else they had some other pastime; but this Thursday in the morning, the statutes which were sealed with the seal of the Garter were sent to the king of Castile. Garter King of Arms bare them to his presence and there delivered them to the lord Herbert which presented them to the king of Castile to the intent he should oversee and visit them.

6 Feb. On Friday the 6th day of February both kings rode after dinner together a hunting to the park.

7 Feb. The Saturday the 7th of February the horse was baited before the king and the king of Castile, which both stood in the king's new tower, which at that time was appointed for the king of Castile's lodging. And after the horse was baited both kings went to the tennis play; and in the upper gallery there was laid two cushions of cloth of gold for the two kings, and the room was honestly hanged with * *[1]; where played my lord marquis, the lord Howard, and two other knights together. And after the king of Castile had seen them play a while, he made party with the lord marquis. And then played the king of Castile with the lord marquis of Dorset, the king looking on them. But the king of Castile played with the racket, and gave the lord marquis 15; and after that he had played his pleasure and arrayed himself again it was almost night, and so both kings returned again to their lodgings.

8 Feb. The Sunday, the 8th day of the said month, the king heard both mass and evensong in his chapel, but the

[1] Blank in MS.

king of Castile remained in his lodging and came not that day abroad. A.D. 1506.

The Monday, the 9th day of February, both kings met secretly together, and so came forth to the king's dining chamber, where stood ready all the knights of the order of the Garter in their gowns of the order, which is crimson velvet lined with white, having on their collars and hoods on their shoulders. Where were also all the other lords, the king and my lord prince wearing also the gowns of the order; and the king of Castile was in a gown of cloth of gold which was very long and large. And so went down to the nether gallery, and at the stairs foot both kings and the prince took their horses, having before them Garter King of Arms of that order, and Toison d'Or King of Arms of the order of the Toison, they only bearing the coats of arms of their lords, and riding next before the sword and before them the ambassador of Spain, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Winchester, prelate of the order before them, the knights of the order bearing company with some of the knights of the order of the Toison d'Or; and before them all other lords and knights after their estate and degrees, which all lighted at the middle door of the body of the church, and so went, still in their gowns, without entering the choir till they came to the chapter door, where all the knights did on their mantles. And so proceeded into the chapter house which was honestly hanged, all the great board covered with cloth of gold and the forms covered with bodkin. And at the end by the king there was laid a cushion of cloth of gold whereupon was laid the very [Cross [1]], and the evangelist turned to the canon of the mass which lay upon it, having two tapers burning in the honor of the very Cross. And at the end on the right hand there was ordained a chair for the king, the sovereign 9 Feb.

[1] Omitted in MS.

A.D. 1506. of the order, with pall and cushions of cloth of gold, and by it a stool with like garnishing on the left hand of the king.

Investiture of the Garter.

And after every body was settled, the king standing began to show the king of Castile how there were certain ceremonies belonging to the said order, and that it was accustomed that no person might receive any habiliment appertaining to the said order till he had made solemn oath to keep and observe the statutes and ordinances of the said order; and to understand whether it was his pleasure so to do or not. Who answered that in all things he would right willingly do that to the said order was appointed. And then Garter King of Arms delivered the statutes, which were sealed with the seal of the Garter and collationed by the register of the said order, unto the bishop of Winchester, prelate of the order, which delivered them to the sovereign; and were laid under the mass book, the one half of the book of the statutes, so that one might see the other half, for the book lay open. And the king of Castile laid his hand on the canon of the mass and himself read and made this oath following in French: "Nous, Philippe, par la grace de Dieu roy de Castille, de Lyon, de Grenade, archeducq d'Austriche, duc de Bourgoigne, &c. promettons et jurons sur notre foy et honneur et sur les Sanctes Evangiles et Canon de la Messe par nous nouvellement touchez et sur le feust dela vraye Croix que cy est present devant nous, accomplirons et entretiendrons loialement à nostre pouvoir tous les estatus, points et ordonnances de ceste noble Ordre dela Jartiere de point en point selon qu'il est contenu et declaré dedans le livre qui nous a esté baillé quel avons accepté et acceptons aussy bien que sy nous les lisions tout au long à ceste heure presente chascun article lesquelz promettons dereschef les tenir et entierement garder sans enfreindre. Ainsy nous ayde Dieu et touts les Saincts."

The exception that the king of Castile made, and that the sovereign did dispense with him was only for two causes. The one was that he might wear the collar when it pleased him, and not be bound to wear it as the statute will but at his pleasure; the second not to appear personally at the feast or chapters. And when the oath was done the king of Castile kissed the book and the very Cross; and then the bishop of Winchester, prelate of the order, delivered to the king of Castile a pen with ink; which king of Castile signed the oath that he had made with his own hand, and with his own hand delivered to the king sovereign of the said noble order. That done, the earl of Surrey, treasurer of England, presented[1] the garter to the king of Castile, saying the words in French to the presentation of the garter belonging, that is to say, "Sir, the sovereign and amiable company of the order of the garter have received you to," &c.; and there the king put the garter about his leg, and my lord prince buckled and made it fast. That done, he went into a little house which is at the chapter house end, who there did off his gown of cloth of gold, and immediately gave it to Garter King of Arms of the order, and there did on the gown of the order, of the which the said Garter King of Arms had the charge of delivery, both of the gown, mantle, and hood. And as soon as the king of Castile's gown was dressed about him he came forth to the sovereign; and there the King Sovereign put the collar of the order about his neck upon his gown, saying these words following, "Mon filz," &c. A.D. 1506.

And near to the king stood Garter King of Arms, which held on his arm the mantle and hood. And incontinent as the collar was about his neck my lord Herbert put the mantle upon him, the king setting

[1] *presented* repeated in MS.

A.D. 1506. to his hands, and then the hood after. And then shortly Garter did on the gown that the king of Castile had given him, and came to the king his sovereign lord, and humbly besought him his grace to give thanks to the king of Castile his son which for his sake had given him that gown, and there the king of his grace gave him thanks. And so proceeded to the stall which was next to the king's stall, and there the king led him by the hand and put him in his stall, and so to his own, first saying these words following; "Mon," &c.

And then went all the other knights to their stalls after the due order; and then began the mass sung by the bishop of Chichester. And after the gospel the archbishop of Canterbury brought the book of the evangelists to the king; and after the king had kissed it the king of Castile kissed. And at the offering time the king of Castile went to have stood before his stall like as the other knights did, but the king hasted him so much that he stood nowhile. And as the king was going to the offering, the king of Castile would have gone after the king; but the king would not, but desired the king of Castile to come forth with him. And then the king of Castile desired him that he would licence him to do his duty like a knight and brother of the order ought to do to the Sovereign; but in nowise the king would not suffer him, but took him with him on his left hand, and so offered both together. My lord prince gave the king his offering, and the king of Castile's chamberlain gave his lord his offering. The king's train was borne by a canon of the college which was also dean of the king's chapel; and the king of Castile's train was borne by his chamberlain, having the officers of arms and other officers attending, as it appertaineth, and so returned to their stalls again. Then went my lord prince and offered alone, having some officers before him; and

after he had offered and returned to his stall all other knights offered, two and two together, till they had all offered. And immediately as mass was done there came to the king sitting in his stall the archbishop of Canterbury then chancellor of England, the bishop of Winchester[1] then privy seal, doctor Weste and some other of the king's council, which there presented the king the draught of the amity of peace with divers new articles and confirmations of the said amity sealed with the great seal and privy seals. And in like manner the lord St. Py the president of Flanders and some other of the king of Castile's council presented him the articles of the amity and confirmation of the same, also sitting in his stall, which were also sealed with his great seal and privy seals. And there sitting in their stalls every each king signed with his own hands the said writings. And that that the king had signed he delivered to the king of Castile, and those that the king of Castile had signed he delivered to the king's hand, every each interchangeably to other. Which articles of the said amity are such as followeth [in the ensuing leaf][2] A.D. 1506.

[*Here is inserted an original counterpart, signed by Henry VII., of the treaty printed in Rymer, vol. xiii. pp.* 132–142.]

And the said articles signed and delivered as before, doctor Routhalle, the king's secretary, stood upon a form in the midst of the choir, and there made a goodly proposition in a very adorned Latin, the effect of which was to expound the said amity openly. And the proposition done both kings came forth of their stalls, and went up to the high altar, and there sware upon the holy Evangelists, canon of the mass by them manually touched, and by the feust of the very

[1] Richard Fox.

[2] These words appear to have been added to the transcript.

A.D. 1506. Cross, to keep and observe all the points and articles contained in the said amity from point to point; and so kissed the book, and after the Holy Cross; and every king read his oath openly his own self.

And, the oath done, both kings went to their stalls again and the bishop of Chichester began *Te Deum Laudamus*. And after *Te Deum* was sung the trumpets that stood in the rood loft blew; and they blew continually till the king and the king of Castile, my lord prince, the knights of the order with other noblemen and officers were entered the chapter door. And when the king was in his place the king of Castile and my lord prince first doing their obeisance went into the revestry at the chapter house end, and there the king of Castile and my lord prince did off their habit of the Garter, and the king of Castile did on the mantle of the Toison, and my lord prince did on a rich gown of cloth of gold and tissue furred. And the king of Castile stood on the left hand of the king, and my lord prince at the corner of the board end next the king of Castile. And after a little communication or advertisement my lord prince made his oath and read it himself in French, and there promised to keep and observe the statutes of the Toison d'Or. The oath was like in all things to the oath the king of Castile made, changing the name of the prince and of the order. And after my lord prince had made this oath he returned into the same little house, and there Toison d'Or delivered my lord prince the gown and mantle of the order of the Toison d'Or, and my lord prince immediately gave and delivered his gown that was so rich a cloth of gold to Toison d'Or king of arms, and so came forth again.

And then the king of Castile put the collar of the Toison, about my lord prince his neck; and then the king of Castile kissed him; and then all the other knights kissed him, being of the said order of the

Toison in sign of fraternal love. And after that the king of Castile went into the little room again, and there did off the mantle of the Toison and did on again the mantle of the Order of the Garter, and so in the habit of the Order of the Garter went with the king; and my lord prince went in the habit of the Toison, and so in like order went forth of the church and rode to the king's lodgings as they came to the churchward, Garter and Toison d'Or kings of arms riding and wearing the gowns of cloth of gold that the two princes had given them and their coats of arms upon them. And after the two princes were come to the upper gallery the king would have conveyed the king of Castile to his lodging, but he would not in no wise the king should take the pains; and so finally he conveyed the king to his lodging, and then departed to his. And within awhile after the king went to dinner to the king of Castile's own lodging, and that day the kings[1] dined both together in the king of Castile's secret chamber. And the king of Castile sent Garter a reward and a right honorable largess to the officers of arms. And in like manner my lord prince sent Toison d'Or a reward for himself and also largess to the said officers of arms; which princes were cried at the king's chamber door, great chamber, and hall in manner as followeth, "Largesse iij du treshault, trespuissant, tresexcellent prince, le roy de Castill, de Lion, de Granada, archeduc d'Austriche, duc de Bourgoigne, &c. et chevalier de la tresnoble order de la Jarretier," which was cried by Garter King of Arms of the order of the Garter. And then after Toison d'Or cried largess of my lord prince in this manner, "Larges iij. du treshault, trespuissant, tresexcellent prince Henry par la grace de Deu prince A.D. 1506.

[1] *kinge*, MS.

A.D. 1506. de Gales · duc de Cornwall et counte de Chester, chevalier, frere et compagnion de la Toison d'Or, larges," &c. And after the said officers of arms went to the hall and there accomplished their dinner, and as that day were served before knights because of the strangers, which service was right honorable and sumptuous.

And after dinner both kings remained a great while in communication together and almost as none entered that secret chamber except knights of the order and certain officers knights, which all that day thorough ware their gowns, hoods, and collars of the Garter, except my lord prince which that day ware the gown, hood, and collar of the Toison d'Or. And that day the court was served like as it had been a right great feast and as honorably in all things[1] as I have seen. And afterwards the king of Castile conveyed the king towards his lodging and so amiably for that time departed. To write of the great rich cupboard which continually stood in the great hall with all gilt plate, or of the great and rich beds of estate, hangings of rich cloth of gold, or of the rich and sumptuous cloths of arras with divers cloths of estate both of the king's lodging and in the king of Castile's lodging, so many chambers, hall, chapel, closet, galleries, with other lodgings so richly and very well appointed, with divers other things, that I suffice nor cannot discern, and as I suppose few or none that were there that ever saw castle or other lodging in all things so well and richly appointed, and the great continual fair open household, so many noblemen so well appointed, and with so short warning heretofore as I think hath not been seen.

10 Feb. The Tuesday the 10th of the said month the queen of Castile came to the said castle of Windsor accom-

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[1] *thinge*, MS.

panied besides her own servants with the earl of Arundel, the lord St. Almonde, the lord Mountjoye, and divers other gentlemen which by the king's commandment had attended afore upon her by the space of * *.[1] And they entered by the little park, and so secretly came by the backside of the castle unto the king's new tower, where at the stair-foot the king met with her and kissed and embraced her; howbeit that the king of Castile that there was there[2] present with the king had divers times before desired the king's highness for to have remained in his own lodging, and not to have taken the pains to have gone so far. And after the king had welcomed her my lady Princess her sister and my lady Mary the king's daughter, having many ladies and gentlewomen attending upon them welcomed her; and so all together went up into the king of Castile's lodgings. And in the utter chamber the king departed from her, and the king of Castile conveyed the king to his lodging, and so at that time departed. A.D. 1506.

The Wednesday the 11th day both the kings dined together in the king's secret chamber. The king of Castile of his own mind said he would go dine with the king his father if it were his pleasure, the which lonely motion the king gladly did accept. And a little before dinner was showed the king's genealogy how nigh kin the both kings were together, and how the king is within degree of marriage both unto the king of Romans his father and to the queen of Castile his wife, and that the king of Castile was kin unto him both of his father's side and mother's side. And that day departed my lady Princess and my lady Mary to Richmond. 11 Feb.

The Thursday the 12th of February the king nobly accompanied after he had offered to St. George as 12 Feb.

[1] Blank in MS. [2] Sic in MS.

A.D. 1506. accustomed and to king Henry, rode to Richmond to see the house prepared against the king of Castile's coming; and the king of Castile and the queen his wife remained still at Windsor having attending upon them both lords and knights by the king's commandment. Where they remained still to the Saturday then next following; which day the king of Castile, hawking and hunting by the way as he rode, came to Richmond. And the queen of Castile his wife having the late queen's rich litters and chairs took her way towards the sea side to her ships which then lay or rode at Dartmouth and Plymonth distant from thence by the [s]pace of * *[1] miles. And that first night she lay at Reading where I understand she was honorably received by the abbot and other * *[1] after their haviours, and divers lords and others were appointed to wait upon her to the sea side.

I leave the queen's journey to them that saw it and return to the king. When the king perceived that the king of Castile was near he came down from his chamber and met him at the stairs' foot by the water side, and welcomed him to Richmond. Howbeit little before the king met with him the king of Castile advised[2] the house without, and greatly praised the beautiful and sumptuous edifice, saying to them that were there near unto him, that if it should be his fortune to return to Brussells that that Beau Regard should be a pattern unto him: and so the king conveyed him to his lodging.

The Sunday following the ambassador of France came to the king, and both kings heard mass together, &c. And[3] that morning unaxed the king of Castile proferred the king to yield Ed. Rebell,[4] &c. On Tuesday justs;

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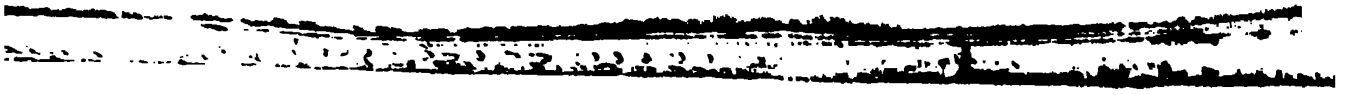
[1] Blank in MS.
[2] Sic, qu. *admired?*
[3] *and* repeated in MS.
[4] Edmund earl of Suffolk.

on Wednesday horsebaiting; on Thursday to Baynard's Castle, and a hawking by the way; on Friday to Our Lady of Barking, and so to the Tower, and gun shot. On Saturday to Westminster, and so returned to Richmond, but first dined at Westminster with the abbot and prior. On Monday wrestling between Englishmen and Spaniards and baiting between the horse and the bear. On Tuesday, St. Matthew's day, both kings dined together, served with four courses. On Saturday towards the sea side to Windsor, all the children of Eton standing along the bars of the churchyard; received in the castle by the canons and offered to St. George as accustomed, and to their two lodgings which remained almost as before. A.D. 1506.

On Sunday horsebaiting and mastiffs given. The Monday offered to St. George, and the king conveyed him on his way a mile or more; and the king defrayed all his servants of their charges and gave rewards.

Memorandum, during all the season the king of Castile was in the king's court every holiday; and at every time that the king of Castile dined and supped with the king, the king was served by knights and esquires wearing velvet or silk, and all great officers attending upon the king during the time that both kings dined or supped together, as my lord steward, my lord chamberlain, &c.

TRANSLATIONS.



THE TWELVE TRIUMPHS OF HENRY VII.

Here follow twelve exploits performed by Hercules, figured under twelve triumphs achieved by the very illustrious and puissant King Henry, Seventh of the name, King of England.

The Author.

To rehearse the wonderful exploits
Of king Henry VII. of England,
The triumphs that he has achieved in his day
Against Envy, the worst in the world,
Which, as may be seen in his case,
Pursues him with mortal warfare;
Yet still, as we ought to believe,
Nothing can injure those whom God means to help.

Of his virtue and illustrious dignity
According to my poor ability,
I will speak, that it may be known
How victoriously he reigns.
Treacherous Envy is always raging
To destroy him by her venomous fate,
But in the end he resists in such wise
That he will confound the envious traitors.

To describe by any comparison
His noble actions and his proud elevation,
I must by some means find
Those who in their time have had similar griefs.
I have seen in the history of the Greeks
How Juno entertained envy of Hercules,
And I know no subject which is nearer
To that of king Henry: God grant him long life!

Twelve triumphs did Hercules achieve
During his time, as the story recounts them to us.
He was brave and valiant in his exploits
To accomplish any meritorious work.
But, truly, I think that king Henry
Has a greater victory than Hercules:
For his feats are better worthy of memory
Against Envy; and I will prove it.

Juno, full of envy and malice,
Instigated king Eurystheus
To impose an unpropitious task
On Hercules that he might no longer reign.
Juno thought that in this exploit there was no chance
Of his life. But it was otherwise;
For he exercised such noble virtues
That he resisted very gloriously.

Who is Juno? To understand the case well,
As one sees, and as it may appear,
The dowager of Flanders must be taken for her,
Who instigated right and left,
One who called himself (I know not if he be so)
King of the Romans, to destroy this good king.
Him I mean, and it is easy to understand,
For Eurystheus; this is enough for me.

As for the dragons that Juno brought
Into the chamber of Hercules to kill him,
The story says that Hercules conquered them,
But on this achievement I will not enlarge
beforehand.
Twelve other feats I will write in this place
Which Hercules did, well trained in virtues,
Returning, if I can well tell it,
To the triumphs of the noble king Henry.

Do you, my hearers, hold me excused
If I couch my rhetoric in uncouth terms.
As an unlearned person I set myself
To do this: my skill applies itself thereto.
For since I have seen in public
The brilliant deeds of the king which I would
relate,
First of all, and without farther remark,
I pray you that you will please to listen.

The First Exploit.

As I said that by exhortation
This Juno told Eurystheus
That he should send Hercules straightway
To fight with the lion of Cleonæ,
Who was there without longer delay.
Juno thought in this way to discomfit him,
But he found the shepherd Molorchus,
Who gave him his club to fight with.

I mean no other shepherd than God,
Who gave to king Henry power
To resist in each and every place
The envious who would do him injury.
He is the shepherd who is his ally,
Who gives him this strong club
To keep him in secure enjoyment:
Not otherwise is the thing understood.

Following out this first exploit
That Hercules performed, who conquered the lion,
There was a curious and singular act
When he killed the lion Cleonæus;
He then dressed himself in the lion's hide,
And armed himself with it that he might be stronger,
And kept it, as the story tells,
All his life until he died.

By this lion I understand a mighty king,
That is to say, a king greater in dignity
Than the others (Virgil in a proverb
Describes him so) in honor and elevation;
Notwithstanding that now they degrade him
To conform him somewhat to vice.
I mean him and leave him for even such
As men used to do in former days.

And on that king's name I am silent,
Who is here represented by the lion.
King Henry, being beyond the sea,
Expected to be devoured by him;
But God provided for him so well
That he has conquered him and dressed himself in his hide.
Of this hide it will be shown to you
That it should be understood to mean virtues.

The hide is strength and prudence and wealth,
Which belonged to [that] king at the first,
As we constantly read in the story
Of the good Jason, who nobly acquired
The golden fleece, which was indeed
But only the treasure of the king called Æetes,
King of Colchis; it is not otherwise,
Without my taking from it, or adding anything of my own.

The Second Exploit.

Then Hercules, in this second exploit,
Killed the Hydra, a horrible serpent;
And as soon as he cut off one head
Seven sprang from it; the thing is apparent.
And yet, that I may not deceive,
(The poets have mixed it with fiction)
I am obliged to show the purport of it
By giving you an explanation.

"Hydra" is Greek equivalent in meaning
To "aqua" in good Latin; both are water.
If the poets then chose to describe it
As a serpent, there is no great harm.
It was a lake, from which arose great streams,
Which devastated the surrounding country.
Whatever labor or work they did,
They could not dry up those great streams.

The Hydra then stands for a lake called Lerna
From which arose great abundance of waters.
But Hercules, by his cunning skill,
Found means by his art and science
To dry it up in presence of all men,
By fire and other agents suited for the purpose,
And exempted from this violence
The men and women of the country.

Whom shall we take for the waters of this lake
Which have over-run this country?
Envy, which in many a heart
Of divers people has shown itself before all
Filthy and foul, and meanly apparelled,
Throwing venom on great and small;
And whoever had not kept it in subjection
Had need to quit the field.

One may have seen in the land of England
The great lords terribly troubled;
While they made war upon each other
The country was sadly distressed.
But the good king at his coming
Dried up all this with the fire of charity,
And joined them together again in such a manner
That they are at peace and living in unity.

The Third Exploit.

We must now come to the third exploit,
In which Hercules exerted great ability;
For he conquered, by his courageous bearing
And put to death the wild boar of Arcadia.
This wild boar it is right that I should set down
For king Richard, as he comes into this place,
Who held, like a false and unjust one,
The royal place, without a right to it.

Now he had taken for his device
The great hog, which is a very foul animal;
And I know not why he took it,
Unless it be God who prompts the heart.
Honour [belongs] to the good man, and the wicked acquires
Every disgrace; nobility renounces him.
For crime offends, and is called dishonorable.
He is a mean fellow who does mean actions.

Moreover I would speak of this Richard,
How he was of such blunted feelings
As to destroy his own nephews.
This was too great a cruelty in him.

Avarice had too much overcome him;
So that at last evil should have overtaken him.
And so it has happened, for God in his goodness
Made him understand this before his days were over.

The noble king Henry conquered him
On the fair field victoriously;
And I believe that God that day decreed it,
For it was done miraculously.
A small number of men did such great things
By broad sword-thrusts and strokes,
That the enemy surrendered humbly,
And Richard was killed in the battle.

The Fourth Exploit.

We shall speak this time of the fourth exploit,
In which Hercules did a very fine action.
There was a stag with golden horns,
Which remained in the wood; as is related
Touching its size, it was a cruel thing.
When Hercules had heard of it,
Like a valiant knight of great zeal,
He had a great desire to go against the stag.

Now Hercules sought out many expedients
That he might see what animal it was.
He found the stag, which was called Heripides,
Great and horned, which fought in the wood.
Hercules saw that the stag was hastening
Towards him, but he wrought so well,
That however the stag struggled,
Hercules at last killed him.

Whom shall we take for the stag with great horns,
That desired to make his horns glitter?

He is Count Lincoln[1] who came
Into this country thinking to destroy this king.
O Envy! thou hast too much desired to hurt him
By thy hired warriors, who in the end are deceived.
For all the evil recoils upon thee;
Thou seest that it always comes uppermost.

Thou didst bring in Count Lincoln
To kill the king is most certain.
This too, was by thee, men say.
Thou art then very full of malice.
Thou bringest thy warriors to every misfortune;
For whoever trusts to thee has for all his reward
Sometime or other a bloody gift.
For thou canst make no other payment.

Let us see then whether Envy is pleasing
When she so falsely deceives her master.
Everywhere a person is wicked
To trusting her, and make himself her servant.
What I say may be very well known;
We have seen the manifest sign of it.
Let us and every being fly from her everywhere,
And let us proceed to the fifth exploit.

The Fifth Exploit.

The Stimphalides in Arcadia were
Great birds of a strange shape,
And robbed every creature,
They devoured and destroyed all pasture.
The people dared not go to the fields
For the great mischief that these birds did.
The laborers forsook their labors:
It was pitiful, they did so much harm.

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[1] The name intended, I presume, was that of the Earl of Lincoln.

There was a report of it. There is nothing which
  is not talked of.
Then the valiant Hercules came forward
To go immediately to the country of Arcadia;
He chased away all the birds with his bow,
By such means that there were none left.
When those birds had all fled,
The fame of Hercules was heightened,
The whole country giving him glory for it.

It may have been observed likewise
That in this country there were a great many
  robbers,
Who devoured and destroyed in such a manner
That the country was all devastated.
No one could go in any direction
Without being robbed and pillaged.
It was frightful, to say the truth,
How the country was tormented by them.

As well by sea as by land also
They reigned long in this employment;
But the good king has driven them all away
By his fair bow; I mean his justice.
O king Henry, how propitious wert thou
To deliver the country from such an evil.
By thy good policy, we can go
In safety both up and down.

The Sixth Exploit.

The sixth exploit that Hercules did,
As the story brings it down to us:
Once on a time it happened that he conquered
Menalippe queen of the Amazons,
And took from her, it is very certain,
Her girdle, which is called *balteus;*
She was the queen of wealth,
But Hercules conquered her.

By Menalippe I understand (without more delay
In talking of her allegorically)
The dowager of Flanders and Burgundy,
Who dispenses treasure largely
And fraudulently to crown
In Ireland one called Peterkin,
In which she has not very good sense
To spend her wealth for a mean fellow.

She has deprived herself of wealth and treasure,
Intending to put him in possession of them.
But the good king by virtue and prowess
Holds the dominion of Ireland,
And will keep it in subjection to himself,
As his own rightful lordship;
And to throw away so much money,
Every one laughs at it in mockery.

By this then I say that she is stripped
Of her *balteus*, that is her rich girdle.
Better would it have been had she not given it him.
It was scattering her wealth too much by chance.
And it seems to me to be against nature
To endeavour to put in possession
A poor man of ignoble birth
In royal place; it is a great oppression.

For the present let us keep silence on these things
(It is well known how the thing was done)
And return to the valiant Hercules,
And what he did in his seventh exploit.
The story tells that he made a fine conquest,
As fine as I now relate;
For he vanquished and took all the spoil
Of Diomedes, who was king of Thrace.

The Seventh Exploit.

Diomedes was a very cruel man,
And the most treacherous of all the treacherous;
He put to death the passers by
As they were passing. He was a traitor and a knave.
In his territory both by hills and valleys
He watched for strangers to murder them,
And gave them to his horses to eat;
And indeed they ate no other food.

Whom shall we take for this cruel
And inhuman man? It is needful to pay attention.
You have a new warrior
Who was called by the name of Martin Swart;
What do you say of him? Did he come too late
To threaten to do great marvels?
I say No. For he received his share
For his trouble with his works.

He threatened to kill all
Who were on the noble king's side;
But, thanks be to God and to the Chaste Virgin,
What he threatened was quite averted.
He and his people were cut to pieces
In the middle of the field, and there is no doubt
His accomplices were deserted,
And all received their penalty due.

Also it is said, whoever reckons without his host
He has to reckon twice. And it is true;
For they expected to make others dance to the tune
To which they danced [themselves] in very pitiful array.
Now I shall speak no longer of this feat.
We must come to the eighth exploit,
And I will abridge as much as I can
The subject I wish to maintain.

The Eighth Exploit.

In this eighth exploit Hercules fought
The great bull by a great struggle.
By his efforts and good conduct he did so much
That he overthrew and subdued him.
This work was of great merit,
And in it he acquired great glory,
Hence it was recorded by the Greeks,
And will be held in eternal remembrance.

This noble king, what has he done?
Has he not struggled with this bull?
He has indeed, and the fact shows him to us
A valiant man full of frankness.
The king of Scotland by his skill
He has subdued, and all his party.
By his good sense he has so arranged
That he does his will with him in part.

Never was such fortune given to king
As to this king, and I think it a gift of grace.
Whatever design Envy may have entertained,
Never have her threats taken effect upon him.
He conquers always whatever he does,
And resists victoriously.
We shall now see further in this place
His ninth glorious triumph.

The Ninth Exploit.

We shall here speak first
Of what Hercules did in his ninth exploit.
He wrought so virtuously
That he made a conquest of the great king Geryon.
This Geryon had more than one head
(Three as in the fiction

The good poets say), and yet I pause
To tell what is in my intention.

This Geryon was the king of Gades.
Of the three heads which are mentioned,
It is because he had two brothers,
The three being all of one opinion,
And also of the same will, living in union.
This is why the poets considered
That Geryon should be in the story
Called three-headed,—thus they disposed of it.

This Geryon the king called three-headed,
Was very rich in gold and goods,
And he had great herds of cattle,
As the story gives us to understand.
Hercules did his duty so well
That he brought him under subjection.
Now we must receive all this,
And apply it to our action.

Has the good king conquered this Geryon?
Yes indeed. I believe in this all mankind.
Of the three heads let us write:[1]
The first is the king of the Romans,
Then the archduke, the other neither more nor less
Than the dowager; they are altogether
The three heads, and they are not able
To destroy this king as it seems to me.

Now, though the king has conquered them,
They never have perceived the way to act
But the good king, by the good sense he has acquired,
Has quite subdued their evil design.

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[1] The word *lescairon* in the original is probably an error for *l'escrirons*.

And so many times did they think to kill him,
Offering large sums [to reward] the deed;
But God, who liveth, will not suffer to be lost
His good friend, but has caused them to be defeated.

O noble king! Since God has given thee aid
Thou hast not expected to have adversity.
Put faith in him, since he is thy help;
He will aid thee in thy necessity.
In whatever season, be it winter or summer,
Forget him not. I have always regarded
A proverb which says with truth,
That which God keeps is always well kept.

The Tenth Exploit.

We must now come to the tenth [exploit],
And relate thus how the thing happened.
When Hercules had by his conduct
Taken Geryon and all his cattle,
Then a robber, called Cacus, came,
Who wished to decoy all the cattle,
But Hercules kept so much on his guard
That the robber was obliged to run away.

We must speak a little of this Cacus,
What he is, and what and whom he may resemble.
He was by nature a great robber,
Who had never done else than rob.
From his mouth might be seen to appearance
A very great fire thrown out in abundance.
If he did not make Hercules tremble,
He drove him away by his strength and valour.

Whither did Cacus flee? To abridge
It is needful that I determine this.
Hercules soon caused him to dislodge
Nimbly without torch or lantern;
And he hid himself within a cavern
Where there were several other robbers;
It is a place where they govern one another.
Of all this we must show the application.

For the cattle I take some soldiers
Who came down by stealth
Into this country, to act [the part of] foxes,
And to destroy the king entirely.
They were valiantly taken and conquered
And carried away in spite of the robber.
By this robber I understand no other
Than Perkin, as we shall tell.

This Perkin wished to come afterwards,
He expected to decoy his cattle,
But he knew not how to keep any of them,
And was soon obliged to remove.
That fire which issued [from him] was his threats,
For he intended to commit great outrages;
But the good king forthwith made him hide himself
In Ireland among the savages.

And yet let us put on record
That in Ireland, I remember well
That is the cavern where are the robbers
Of his kind, rascally thieves;
Where there is neither peace, love, nor concord,
Nothing but treasons and foul deeds;
But at all events, it must be confessed
That in spite of him his cattle have remained.

The Eleventh Exploit.

The eleventh was when Hercules dragged
From hell the dog called Cerberus;
And so murderously did the said dog attack
That whoso defied him was no longer in his place.
Now he was of the infernal lakes
The chief porter, and also had three heads.
But Hercules made an end of his days,
And conquered him by his noble deeds.

Whom shall we take for three-headed Cerberus?
I understand by them his three captains,
Who were taken with the other animals,
Whose veins they have done well to close up
For their labor, and also for their trouble
They have received their due and their reward.
And it would have been better for them to have had quartan fevers
Than to undertake what they wished to do.

The one was Jennot, the second Quentin, [there was] also
With [them] Beld, which is a diabolical name.
Thus comes the end of treason:
Who does evil, evil at last returns to him;
However, O people of English mould,
Do not you have hearts so mean and grovelling
That you cannot be, for the public good,
Faithful and loyal to noble king Henry.

The Twelfth Exploit.

The twelfth [exploit] deserves that I relate it.
In which Hercules again performed a great feat,
For he conquered the great dragon Maxille,[1]
To possess himself of the garden of treasure
Of the Hesperides where golden apples grew.
The great dragon's strength did not prevail;
Powerfully, with might and main
He entered and whoso desired to see him might.

For the strong old dragon
I understand neither more nor less
In this place than Maximilian
Who proclaims and calls himself king of the Romans,
Who has kept the gate night and morning
Of this garden and fair pleasure ground,
To prevent the said [king Henry] by all means
From having the love of the noble king of France.

King Henry has vanquished this dragon,
For he has effected his entrance to the garden;
The two kings have lived in good friendship,
As has already for a long time been shewn,
If God please [the garden] shall not, as formerly,
be set apart;
But as cousins and relatives they will love each other;
The good traders of both countries
Shall be able to go and come in security.

Then has this king acquired the fair treasure
Which he gathered in the pleasure garden,
That is to say, the said golden apples,
I mean by them the fleurs-de-lis of France,
The happy alliance with the French king;
May God be willing to keep them in friendship.
Whoever would wish any hurt to the two kings,
May evil shortly befal him.

[1] *Maxille*, for Maximilian? The name of the dragon, according to Apollonius Rhodius, was Ladon.

There now remains this Maximilian,
Quite repulsed like one incapable.
For he was able to find no stratagem or means
To prevent [entrance to] the beautiful fertile garden;
He is alone in a useless labour,
Dead to the world, at last his power
Shall be shut up, were he to live a thousand years,
Without any great deed of fame.

Now I have told the principal exploits
That Hercules did, which are great in memory;
But I think the triumphs of king Henry
Are higher and of greater glory.
The reason is this: he always obtained a victory
Over Envy, his mortal adversary,
By his virtue and meritorious work;
Which Hercules at last was unable to do.

How Envy caused Hercules to die,
It is right that I should enter upon to you.
The centaur Nessus wished to lead
Across the river the beautiful lady
Dejanira, who was the wife
Of Hercules; who when he saw it
Did him great harm, for this was the reproach
That the centaur would have ravished his wife.

He took his bow and his poisoned arrow,
And wounded the centaur with his dart;
Who said immediately that he should die
Of the shameful wound, for there is no remedy.
He stained his shirt with his blood,
And determined that he would return the same pleasure
To Hercules, he gave his shirt
To the lady, and wished her to take it,

Saying to her "Foolish Dejanira
Do not be any longer melancholy;
Thy husband is a lover of the lady Iole,
Who is daughter of the king [of] Œchalia;
I will soon put an end to the folly,
If you will do what I tell you,
And never in all his life
Will he love other woman than you."

Dejanira soon believed the centaur,
And asked what she ought to do,
Being moved at what the centaur told her,
And thinking to destroy the love of Iole;
The centaur told her, like a false one,
"If thou canst cause my shirt to be worn
By Hercules, as is necessary to thee,
He will not desire to turn to other than thee."

Dejanira, falsely informed of the case,
Sent the shirt to Hercules,
And gave it to the messenger Lichas,
To convey it to him, in which she was ill-advised;
Now Hercules, thinking no evil, took it,
And put it on; by which means, in short,
All his body was so distressed
That he wished to burn himself in the fire.

Upon the hill called Œta
He caused a fire to be made, when he saw he
could do no better;
And there determined to make a sad feast,
A sacrifice of himself to all the gods
Ending his days. O thou chivalrous one!
This was a piteous fate for thee,
When in thy life thou hadst been so fortunate,
And yet this fate is thy sad end.

O Dejanira, of ready credence!
Who believed the centaur thus easily,
Hadst thou not the knowledge in thyself
That he desired to revenge himself on thy husband?
Thy envy brought upon him great danger,
For which noblesse cries vengeance on thee;
Thy jealousy has sent to death
The noblest man of chivalry.

Now Hercules had always prevailed
Against Envy and all her malice,
But now at his end he was deceived.
What is the cause of this? Was it just?
I answer that it was; on account of his vice,
In which he indulged, breaking his marriage [vow];
Then did divine justice permit
That he should incur this mortal injury.

Wherefore I conclude that he ought not to have
Such glory, nor be in such dignity,
As this good king: I make this known;
Because vice always injures nobleness.
A noble heart that loves nobleness,
Vice never will overcome
Until Death. Therefore I always say,
That the good king will be more exalted.

He hates vice, and esteems the virtues;
He desires to lead a noble and good life;
By this means he has laid the winds
Which all the troops of Envy may blow.
And will still lay them, whatever may be said.
Envy shall never make progress against him,
For good hope, which always conducts him,
Makes him always victorious.

And yet, O king! have good patience,
And good hope; it is for thy security;

These two virtues are of great importance,
Abandon them not either winter or summer.
Hardly any adversity
Mayest thou have; believe the fair words of the poets;
They may be believed, for, in ancient times,
They were taken thus for prophets.

Noble Henry, powerful king of England,
Have confidence in the great God on high.
The followers of Marius made war on those of Sylla.
King Sylla then killed Marius,
Who became king, and there were thrown into confusion
The party of Marius, and three hundred thousand killed;
But yet all was not concluded
Nor all put to death by their subtle dart.

Another day there was when all remained
Without one escaping. History relates it.
Most noble king, speedily shall men see,
If God please, thy cause well and clearly:
There shall be none who oppose thee;
Thou shalt at last subdue thy enemies.
For a short time patiently suffer and hope,
For at last thou shalt have complete victory.

Pious nation, let us all humbly pray
The God of gods for the auspicious victory
Of king Henry; that he may live long
In his reign of triumph and glory.
May his noble blood in this land
Reign in peace and glory:
I beg all who may see this story
To excuse my humble ability.

JOURNALS OF ROGER MACHADO.

Embassy to Spain and Portugal.

A.D. 1488.

Westminster.

A.D. 1488. Embassy sent to Spain and Portugal, 21 Dec.

Memorandum, that Henry King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, the Seventh of his name, sent an embassy into Spain and Portugal in the fourth year of his reign, the year of grace 1488, on the 21st day of December. And the ambassadors were Master Thomas Salvaige, doctor in law, as chief, and Master Richard Nanfan, knight for the king's body, created knight that same day under [the king's] hands between Westminster and Sion, the second in the said embassy. And Richmond, King of Arms of Norroy, appointed by the king to attend and accompany the said embassy throughout that whole journey they were to make both in Spain and Portugal.

A.D. 1489. They embark at Southampton, 19 Jan.;

Item, after the said ambassadors had taken leave of the king their sovereign lord, they went to the town of Southampton to take their passage. And in their company was an embassy of the King of Castile. These had been in this kingdom of England with the said King Henry for the space of a year or thereabouts. The names of which ambassadors were, first Rodrigo Rodrigez De la Poubla, doctor in law, Monsieur Jehan de Sepoulveda knight of the household

of the King of Castile, who had a commission by himself from the queen to the said King Henry. And the said chaplain's[1] name was Don Martin de Torres. These said ambassadors, both of England and Castile, departed all in the same company in two Spanish ships from the town of Southampton on the 19th day of January, at the hour of noon and were all that night at sea. And next morning at five o'clock or about that time the wind changed and they were forced again to take harbour at Plymouth in England. And they were there till the first day of February. And on the said first day of February they departed from the said town of Plymouth about one o'clock afternoon; and that day was the eve of Our Lady of Candlemas.

A.D. 1489.

and are driven back to Plymouth, 20 Jan.;

1 Feb.

After the said ambassadors had departed and put out to sea, they were at sea all that night, and had a favorable wind all night till about three hours after midnight, and then the wind fell and changed to the west, and afterwards to the south-east, and was so contrary that they were obliged to go to the port of Falmouth. But before they could gain the said port, they were at sea all that eve of Our Lady and the day of Our Lady. And on the morrow of Our Lady they landed at Falmouth, which was the third day of February, and arrived in a great tempest of wind, rain, and bad rough weather. And in this town of Falmouth these said ambassadors remained before they had an opportunity to depart, the space of ten days.

and again to Falmouth.

3 Feb.

And because at the beginning of this book I had forgotten to put in writing the names of the hosts with whom those ambassadors were lodged during this voyage, it occurs to me now to write it. And it is true that these good lords took their passage first from the town of Southampton, and were lodged

Names of the hosts with whom the ambassadors lodged at Southampton;

[1] Sic.

A.D. 1489. [as follows]: the doctor of Castile at the house of John Gildon, then bailiff of the said town; and the knight of Castile at the hotel of a merchant citizen, called Vincent Tyt; and the chaplain of the Queen of Castile was lodged in the house of another citizen, called Laurence Nyenbolt. And there was lodged in the house with this chaplain and in his company a herald of the King of Scotland named Snowdon, who was sent into Castile by his sovereign lord the King of Scotland. The ambassadors of the King of England, my sovereign lord, were lodged thus: the doctor Master Thomas Savage was lodged with a citizen called Thomas Wilson. And Mr. Richard Nanfan, knight for the king's body, was lodged with Richmond King of Arms of Norroy, who was staying at the time in the said town. Item, after we arrived at Plymouth the said ambassadors of Castile were lodged thus: the said doctor of Castile with a gentleman called Nicholas Aynsle, knight, and the chaplain and the herald of Scotland, both together with a citizen and merchant, called John Treghill. And the ambassadors of the king my sovereign lord; first, the doctor Savage was lodged with one of the customers of the said town called John Tickpenny. And Master Richard Nanfant with a gentleman and alderman of the town called Thomas Tresawel. And Richmond King of Arms was lodged with one called * * [1], at that time mayor of the said town.

and at Falmouth. Item, after we left Plymouth we arrived at Falmouth in the duchy of Cornwall, in this kingdom of England. And there the ambassadors of Castile were lodged [thus]; the doctor with a merchant called John Luck, and the knight, the chaplain, and the herald of Scotland with a gentleman called Thomas Killygrew, and the doctor Savage with a man called

[1] Blank in original.

Piers Luck, brother of the said John Luck. And Master Richard Nanfan, with a priest called Sir John Oby, vicar of the said town. And Richmond was lodged with a gentleman and esquire of the king's household called James Boynnam. A.D. 1489.

In this town of Falmouth we remained for the space of nine days, as I have written already; and the tenth day after dinner the said ambassadors departed to take their ship, but when they came to the Road they found the wind contrary. And for that night they went to lodge near the Road where the ships were in a village called Saint Maurice. And about midnight the sailors of their vessel came with the said boat in quest of the said ambassadors, and before they could get on board the said ship, the said ship was already under sail; and thus the said ambassadors departed in company of several other gentlemen. They resume their voyage.

And all that night and all the following day the wind was favourable. And in the evening at ten o'clock or thereabouts the wind calmed. And so they passed that night. And next morning, which was the 13th day of February, the wind turned to the south-east. And thus it blew a pretty good wind till five o'clock in the afternoon. But certainly about five o'clock, or between five and six, the moon being at the time full, the wind blew from the south, and south-south-west, and sometimes the south-west, but there was such a great storm of wind and rain that it was a marvel. And this storm lasted till the next day, which was the 14th day of February, which was Sunday, and lasted till about four o'clock in the morning. And then the wind calmed, and the weather became very fine. And the wind then was blowing east-south-east, and this wind continued till Tuesday. And we were obliged to shape our course so as to go to Bilboa in Biscay, as it was their wish to do, for they had taken their course to go to Bilboa 14 Feb.

A.D. 1489. because at the time there had been news that the kings of Castile were in the city of Valladolid. The king of Castile at the time was called Ferdinand and was son of the king of Arragon, and had the kingdom of Castile by the queen, who was heiress of Castile at the time. And this heiress was called Isabella, daughter of king John of Castile, and sister of king Henry.

I leave this to return to the voyage of the before-mentioned ambassadors, as they were thus in the Spanish sea, as I have written to you before, this Sunday which was the 14th day of February, and at that time the calends of March were entered. These ships of the said ambassadors ran all that day till evening towards Galicia, and the wind was, as I have formerly written to you, in the east and south-south-east. But about sunset the wind began to blow very strongly and changed to north-east, and all that night there was a great tempest, so much so, that on the
15 Feb. 15th day, about three o'clock before daylight, there came such a gust of wind that the said ship took in, owing to that gust, so much water that she was quite under water and all on one side for a while, and the great sail almost entirely steeped in the sea, and remained so a long time, about a quarter of an hour. And all the ambassadors cried to God, and to all the Saints of Paradise; and not only they but all who were on board the ship. But by God's grace, and by the prayers and pilgrimages promised to the good Saints, they were comforted and saved. And all that day we ran to gain the coast of Spain. And in the evening a little before sunset we came in sight of the said coast, and it was the territory of Esturias in Spain; of which sight we were very joyful. And so we ran all that night by force of the wind all along the said coast. That day by fortune was Monday and was St. Julian's day, to whom great prayers were made by some, that it

would please him to send us a good lodging, which he did. A.D. 1489.

And next day which was the 16th day, at the hour of vespers, we arrived at land at a town which is upon the frontier of Biscay, and which is called Laredo in the kingdom of Castile. And there the said ambassadors landed with great joy, and were conducted to the house of a merchant of the said town, to lodge there. But when they were in the said house the host of the house said that he could not lodge them, and that he had his house full of other guests. This host was called John Gonçalvez de Scallanta. Then Richmond King of Arms made them remain there, and he went about the town to look for another lodging for the said ambassadors. And by the help of some wealthy people whom he found, he was taken to the house of a wealthy merchant, where by chance the said Richmond found out one of the servants of the said merchant who had formerly been in England as an agent in the town of Southampton, and there the said Richmond had entertained him, of which he informed his then master, of which his said master was very glad and received the said ambassadors into the house with the best [hospitality] he could offer. And both the ambassadors were lodged in this house, and their servants were lodged in other houses and hostelries throughout the town. This merchant who had thus lodged the ambassadors was called Fernando Gracia Delloyo. And Richmond was lodged in the house of this man's son, whose name was Fernando Delloyo, he and those lords. And he entertained him well for his money. They land, 16 Feb.

In this town the said ambassadors had news of the king of Castile, that he had left a city called Valladolid, and had gone to another town called Medina del Campo. The said ambassadors remained in that town of Laredo all that night, and during seven days Their stay at Laredo.

A.D. 1489. of February. After these ambassadors had come to the said town, the alcayde, who is the chief officer of the town, and some other citizens went to pay their respects to them and offer their service, and the freedom of the town. After the said ambassadors had arrived there was such a great snow-storm that they were forced to rest for the space of seven days, as I have already written.

And on the 23d day of February the said ambassadors left the said town of Laredo and went that night to sleep at a town called Lanestossa, which is five leagues from the said town of Laredo, on the road to the city of Burgos; it is the last village in the county of Biscay, and is a chamber[1] of Biscay. And the count of Harom who is constable of the kingdom of Castile has the government of it, and also of all the county. From Lanestossa the ambassadors departed on the 24th day of February and went to dine at a town called Ville Sainte, which is four leagues from Lanestossa. And there is a pass between Lanestossa and Ville Sainte, which is called Sandenjesco, and which is [on] a high mountain, and is in the winter season so full of snow that often many people die and are lost there. They left Ville Sainte, and went to sleep at a close town[2] called Medina de Poumar, which is three leagues from Ville Sainte. And they left Medina de Poumar on the 25th day of February and went to sleep at a village called Coirino which is six leagues from Medina de Poumar. And from Coirino they departed on the 26th day, and went to take refreshment in a village called Ontomin. But you must know that between that town of Medina de Poumar and the village of Coirino, about half way

Arrival at Lanestossa.

Medina de Poumar.

Ontomin.

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[1] *Une chambre;* I presume a place where courts of justice met.

[2] *Ville clousse.*

there flows between two high mountains a large river which is called Ebro; and this river flows to a city in the kingdom of Arragon, called Saragossa. And from this village of Ontomin the ambassadors sent to the city of Burgos to inquire of a merchant of that city called Diego de Castro, who had formerly frequented the kingdom of England, and upon this acquaintance they wrote him a letter [asking him] to be pleased to order their lodging in the said city, which he did very honourably. This village of Ontomin is nearly five leagues from the city of Burgos. A.D. 1489.

Their reception at Burgos;

When the said ambassadors had arrived at nearly a quarter of a league from Burgos, they were met on the way by the before mentioned merchant Diego de Castro, and about ten or twelve other honourable merchants of the said city, who had come to offer two honourable lodgings, that is to say, the house of an honourable merchant called Farnan de Castro, and of another called Alonzo of Salamanca. And they wished that one of the ambassadors, namely the doctor Savage, should be lodged with the said Alonzo of Salamanca, and Mr. Richard Nanfan with the said Farnan de Castro. But the said ambassadors agreed that on account of the great intimacy that they had with the said Diego de Castro, they should be lodged with the said Fernan de Castro, who is uncle of the said Diego de Castro. And the said Fernan de Castro received the said ambassadors very honourably, and lodged them [not only] their own persons [but] two or three of their principal servants each along with them. Also the said Fernan de Castro would not allow that Richmond King of Arms should be lodged in any other house than with him; besides the said Fernan de Castro insisted on being at all the expense for the said ambassadors, for their victuals and for eight persons in their company, and their horses for their persons, during the time they remained and

A.D. 1489. rested in the said town; and in the same way for the said Richmond King of Arms, himself and his horses, [as] in his own house. And the rest of the people of the said ambassadors were lodged in a hostelry, and there they were well lodged.

26 Feb. where they are re-joined by De Puebla,

These ambassadors arrived in the city of Burgos on the 26th of February at about five o'clock in the afternoon. And in the space of two hours after they arrived in the said city, the doctor De Puebla, ambassador of the said king of Castile (as has formerly been written) arrived, and the said doctor came from Bilboa, for he had landed there from the kingdom of England. And the said doctor came to pay respects to the said ambassadors. And as soon as all had communicated together, the said doctor de Puebla sent a messenger to the kings of Castile, his sovereign lords, to inform them that the ambassadors of England had arrived in the city of Burgos, and that they should please to let him know how he should conduct himself to bring them before their graces. And there the said ambassadors remained until this doctor de Puebla had an answer from the said kings. And because perhaps some may blame me that I speak of "kings," and some people may be astonished, and say, "How! are there two kings in Castile?" No, [I say,] but I write "kings" because the king is king on account of the queen, by right of marriage, and because they call themselves "kings," and superscribe their letters "By the King and Queen," for she is the heiress [of the throne].

and entertained by the merchants who had been in England.

To return to my first subject of this journey, the said ambassadors remained in the said city of Burgos waiting for the answer of the kings. And during the time that they thus waited the answer of the kings, truly those merchants of the city who had formerly frequented the kingdom of England gave these ambassadors great feasts and entertainment.

And on their arrival in the said city the prior and the consuls, with all the said company of merchants, sent them a great present, to wit, the flesh of roe-bucks, capons, coneys, partridges, spices, confectionery, and wine, both white and red, in great quantity. Those lords and officers of the city, after they knew that the said ambassadors were lodged with that honorable citizen Farnan de Castro, sent to the hostelries of the town where their servants lodged, to command the hotel keepers that they should take no money from them for their lodging. A.D. 1489.

After these ambassadors had been in the city of Burgos for the space of eight days, waiting the good pleasure of the kings, a knight came to them, whom the said kings had sent to them, whose name was Sir Rodrigo de Mercado, and who was bailiff-general of the kingdom of Murcia in the kingdom and frontiers of Granada. This knight saluted these ambassadors on the part of the kings, his sovereign lords, and told them that the kings sent to them to say that they were welcome to their kingdom. This knight brought letters to the governors of Burgos from the kings, charging them, as soon as they saw the letters to provide as many horses and mules as the said ambassadors should require, which they did very honorably, entirely at the expense of the king. Also the kings commanded those of the said city to do all possible honour to the said ambassadors, as if they were present in their own persons. On the 6th day of March the office-bearers of the city of Burgos came to pay their respects to the ambassadors. And they sent them besides a present of wine, preserves, and other spices. 6 March

And on the seventh day those ambassadors left the city of Burgos on their way to the kings. And they were very respectfully accompanied by the principal merchants of the city for a quarter of a league They leave Burgos, 7 March.

A.D. 1489. out of the city, and there they took their leaves and parted with the ambassadors. And the ambassadors went on their way, and went to take refreshment, that is to say, to eat, in a village called Ville Nueva, which is five leagues from the city of Burgos, and from that they went to sleep at another village called Reville Vallegeire, which is three leagues beyond Villa Nueva. In this village they were very ill lodged, as ill as ever men were. And the first salutation that the ambassadors had from their hostess, with whom they were lodged, was, that she asked them who had made them so bold as to come into her house without her leave? and told them to go out of her house by all the great devils, bawdy villains that they were! And this was the first salutation of their hostess in the town of Reville Vaillegeire. The said ambassadors had patience with these words for this night because they were forced to do so, having no other choice. And in the morning they rose very early (this being the 8th day), and went to dine in a town called Torquemada, which is three leagues from Reville Vaillegiere. And from Torquemada they went to sleep at a town called Doynas, which is four leagues beyond Torquemada; there they remained all that night, having supped that night with a knight that the kings had sent [to receive] them called Sir Rodrigo de Mercado.

And next day, which was the 9th day, they left the town of Doynas after they had breakfasted, and went and took refreshment in a village called Cabeçon which is four leagues beyond Doynas. And after their refreshment they left that place, and went to sleep at the city of Valladolid, where they were given to understand that by the way they should be met before entering the city by the citizens, for so the kings had commanded; however the said citizens did not do so, but came to salute them, and

Arrive at Valladolid,

pay respects to them in their lodgings. And they were lodged in this city of Valladolid with a merchant called Ruy Gonçalviz de Portilho, who had been put in prison and accused as a heretic. And the kings had arrested all his property, for which reason the ambassadors were very ill lodged and entertained there, but afterwards they obtained beds and all other necessary things from other houses in the town; moreover they of the city sent a present to the ambassadors, to wit, marchepains and sucades, and white wine, two leather sacks full. A.D. 1489.

These ambassadors remained in the city of Valladolid for the space of three days, and proceeded towards Medina del Campo where the kings were, on the 12th day of March, and went to dine at four leagues from Valladolid in a village called Pont de Valdastilhas, which is four leagues from Medina. And in this village they found le Petit Salasart who came to pay his respects, and take leave of them, for he had come on an embassy with the bastard Bauduin de Lyle from the King of the Romans to the Kings of Castile. After dinner the ambassadors went on their way towards the town of Medina where the kings were. And by the way they were met three times. The first time was at a quarter of a league from the said town; they were met by the bishop of Malaga, the doctor of Tallavera, the secretary Ferdinand Alverez, Alonzo of Kyntanilha, and several other knights, esquires, and other gentlemen. At the second time they were met by the bishop of Palencia, the grand commander of Leon, the bishop of Segovia, Rodrigo Dolhoa, grand master of the Cortes of Castile. And at the third time they were met by the duke of Alboquerque, the count of Haro, constable of Castile, the duke of Palencia, the count of Benavente, the admiral of Castile, Don Bernarduo de Blasquo, eldest son of the constable, Don Sancho de Blasquo, brother of the said constable, the bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo, the count of

and proceed towards Medina del Campo. 12 March.

A.D. 1489. Ribadavia, and several other nobles and great persons, knights and esquires, and wealthy people. And so they entered the said town, and were conducted to their lodging, which had been ordered for them both, [which was] very honorably hung with fine tapestry, and their rooms [were] well furnished (?) and decorated, with no lack of beds, sheets, and other furniture belonging to such things.

Where they have audience of the King and Queen, 14 March.

The said ambassadors were in the town of Medina for the space of two days before they spoke to the kings and had audience. And the third day which was the 14th of March the kings sent for them to present their letters. And the bishop of Oviedo and the bishop of Malaga came for them, who conducted Sir Richard Nanfan, the one on the right and the other on the left; and Dr. Savage was conducted by the count of Monterrey, and the grand comendador of Calatrava, who went with the doctor Savage, and after [them] other lords, knights, and great persons in great number; and with Richmond King of Arms, there went, that first day that they were taken before the king, a knight called Sir Rodrigo de Mercado, and Monsieur Jehan de Sepoulveda. This Richmond rode before the said ambassadors wearing a rich coat of arms richly embroidered with the arms of England.

Account of the interview.

It was about seven o'clock in the evening before the said ambassadors were sent for, and the daylight was failing, but they were sent for with a great attendance of torches. When these ambassadors were conducted to the palace where the kings were, they found the kings in a great room seated under a rich cloth of gold of state; and in the middle of this great cloth of state was an escutcheon quartered with the arms of Castile and Arragon. And the king was dressed in a rich robe of cloth of gold, woven entirely of gold, and furred with a rich trimming of fine sable; and the queen was seated beside him, dressed in a rich robe

of the same woven cloth of gold which the king wore, and made in the fashion of the country, such as the ladies of the kingdom usually wear. And over the said robe a riding hood of black velvet, all slashed in large holes, so as to show under the said velvet the cloth of gold in which she was dressed. And on the said hood a line [of trimming], not extended, but a sort of [broken] line, composed of oblong parts about a finger's length, and half a finger in width, all of solid gold; and each oblong part decorated with fine and valuable jewels, so rich that no one has ever seen the like. The said queen wore round her waist a girdle of white leather made in the style that men usually wear; [of] which girdle the pouch was decorated with a large balass ruby the size of a tennis ball, between five rich diamonds and other precious stones the size of a bean. And the rest of the girdle was decorated with a great number of other precious stones. She wore on her neck a rich gold necklace composed entirely of white and red roses, each rose being adorned with a large jewel. Besides this she had two ribbons suspended on each side of her breast, adorned with large diamonds, balass and other rubies, pearls, and various other jewels of great value to the number of a hundred or more. Over all this dress she wore a short cloak of fine crimson satin furred with ermine, very handsome in appearance and very brilliant. It was thrown on [negligently] crosswise over her left side. Her head was uncovered, excepting only a little *coiffe de plaisance* at the back of her head without anything else. Truly as I believe, and also as I heard it said at the time, I estimate the dress that she then wore at the value of two hundred thousand crowns of gold. A.D. 1489.

These kings were accompanied by several great princes, among others the Count of Haro, Constable of Castile, the Duke of Alburquerque, the Duke of

A.D. 1489. Placentia, the Count of Benavento, the Cardinal of Castile, (whom I ought to have mentioned first, for he was seated nearest to the Queen on the same seat), the Grand Comendador, the Admiral of Castile, the Count of Ribadeo, the Count of Ribadavia, the Grand Comendador of Calatrava, and several other great counts, barons, bishops, knights, esquires, and other noble persons in great numbers. The Queen was accompanied by thirty-seven great ladies and maidens of noble blood all richly dressed in the fashion of the country, and in cloth of gold with several other rich [materials] which would be too tedious for me to relate.

I return to my said ambassadors. To make an end, Master Richard Nanfan presented the first letter to the king, kissing his hand before he presented the letter to him. And doctor Savage, after Master Richard Nanfan had kissed the hands of both the kings, did likewise. And after the said doctor had kissed hands he presented another letter to the queen; but before he presented it he made a short speech to the queen of twenty or thirty words. And after this speech they were both commanded to be seated in presence of the kings. And Richmond was commanded by the king to place himself behind them standing. And there the said doctor made a very fine and very creditable oration all in Latin, for which he was much praised and followed by the great lords and prelates who were there, and received great honour for it. This oration you will afterwards have more fully in writing. After the said oration was concluded, the king called the Cardinal, the Constable, the Duke of Alborquerque, the Count of Benavente, and the Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo to a council. And the said Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo was commanded to answer the ambassadors on the [subject of] the oration which the said doctor had made,

[in the same manner] as he had done. But the good bishop was so old, and had lost all his teeth, that what he said could with great difficulty be heard. And after this answer was made the said ambassadors took their leaves of the king, and departed, accompanied to their lodging by the same noblemen who had come in quest of them. It was nearly two o'clock in the night before they had returned from the king's court. A.D. 1489.

And next day, which was the 15th day of March, the ambassadors were sent for to go to the kings again to make the representation of their embassy for which they had come. And the same noblemen who had conducted them the evening before came for them. It was six o'clock in the evening. And there the said ambassadors communicated for the space of an hour with the kings [both] they and the ambassadors whom the said kings had previously sent to England, namely, the said doctor De Poebla and Monsieur Jehan de Sepoulveda. The king was then dressed in a crimson velvet robe furred with sable, with a necklace of gold of considerable value, all made of * *[1] of a checquered pattern; and the queen was dressed in a rich woven cloth of gold, and above it, as before, a hood of black velvet, and above that a line of beaten gold strewed with red and white roses of beaten gold, each rose being adorned with rich jewels. She had on her neck a rich necklace decorated with large rubies and carbuncles, and of great value. Second audience, 15 March.

After the said ambassadors had finished what at this time they had to declare to the kings, they desired of the said kings that it might please them of their goodness to let them see the prince and the eldest daughter (called the Infanta donna Isabella),

[1] A word omitted in the original.

A.D. 1489. and all the other daughters, in order to pay respects to them, as they were bound by right to do. And the kings answered them that they should willingly [be allowed to] see the prince and his sister the Infanta at this time, and that another day they should see the other princesses. And at these words the said king called the Constable of Castile, and commanded him to go in quest of the prince and his sister the Infanta, which he did. And immediately he went and brought them both together into the room where the kings were. And the prince was dressed in a robe of rich crimson velvet figured, and furred with ermine, and on his head a black hat after the French fashion with a cornette of purple very narrow all like the branch of a tree. And the Infanta was dressed in a kirtle of cloth of gold, and over it a robe in the fashion of the country with a long train of very rich green velvet. She wore a head-dress made of gold thread and black silk in the form of a net, all adorned with pearls and other precious stones. And the said king was accompanied, as in the previous evening, by several prelates and other great princes, counts, barons, knights, squires, and several other great persons; and the queen by a dozen ladies and maids. And the Infanta entered accompanied by four maids. And there the said ambassadors went and paid their respects to the said prince and his sister the Infanta, and kissed their hands. Doctor Savage made a little address to the said prince. And afterwards they took their leave, and returned to their lodgings accompanied by the same persons who had come for them there.

Third audience, 19 March. The 19th day of March the said ambassadors were sent for by the same lords spiritual and temporal who were accustomed to accompany them; and they told them that the kings desired that they should go with them to the complines in their chapel. And so they did; and on

entering the chapel they found the kings both seated within the curtain, which was of very rich cloth of gold, and with all that was suited to their rank; and the chapel was all hung with beautiful and rich tapestry, and the altar very richly furnished. After the complines were said, the King took the said ambassadors with him, the one at his right hand, and the other at his left, and Richmond before him. And the Queen followed behind him conducted by the Cardinal of Castile. And so they entered a large room in which they found all the Queen's young ladies dancing with the noblemen and gentlemen of her household. And there the King and Queen went and sat down to see the dance, and made the said ambassadors be seated beside them on their right hands, and the princes and nobles of the court on the left. And after they were seated in this way the Kings sent for the princess donna Isabella their eldest daughter to come to the dance; and she came very handsomely and richly dressed and sat down beside the King her father at his right hand side, at a little distance from him. A.D. 1489.

Certainly it was a rich sight to see the Queen and her daughter [so] dressed, and twenty-six ladies and maidens all daughters of great noblemen, (and the smallest that was there was a daughter of Haro), most of them dressed in cloth of gold, velvet, and silk, very handsomely. The Queen was all dressed in cloth of gold, she wore a head-dress of gold thread, and a fine necklace adorned with large pearls, and large and very fine diamonds in the centre. The said ambassadors were there till ten o'clock. Then the Kings commanded the princess their daughter to dance a dance. And she immediately rose and went and took a young lady who was a Portuguese; and for this reason at court she had no other name than the Portuguese: she was the young lady the said princess liked the best. This young lady was very gorgeously dressed and danced with her.

A.D. 1489. After she had danced and returned to her place the ambassadors took leave of the Kings and were conducted to their lodging as before by the same noblemen.

Jousts in honor of the ambassadors, 22 March.

On the 22d of March a fine and splendid tilting match took place in honor of the ambassadors. And the combatants maintainers of the lists were, a noble gentleman called Don Pedro of Toledo, and the second, Don Diego of Connha, against all comers and goers. And the adventurers were Don Hanrique Hanrique, another called Pedraires, Don Diego de Velasquo, one named Carnajal; the latter had the prize this time, for he ran best, and broke most lances. John de Velasquo also did well. Don Martin de Connha did well for two or three courses, and afterwards he left the lists, and was the first who went out of the lists. Inigo Lopis de Mendoça, John de Lasquez did very well and broke four lances, and afterwards left. Don Diego Salvamonto did well for two or three courses. Don Francisco de le Vantado of Andalusia, Jannot de Visque and Don Pedro de Castile. The latter came very richly dressed, and next to the person who had the prize, he did best as a noble knight. All these noblemen went out very richly dressed, and most of them had housings of very rich cloth of gold; and they would have jousted longer, but within an hour after they entered the lists there came on such heavy rain that it was necessary to break up the lists and for the Kings to retire.

The Kings had very honorably given orders that the ambassadors should be conducted [to a place] near them and on the same scaffolding. And in that place there were no other [persons] than the Kings, the prince, and the Infanta donna Isabella their eldest daughter, and the Cardinal of Castile. And the said Kings had ordered that the said ambassadors should be the first upon the said scaffolding, in order that they might see the Kings come in state to the lists. And indeed they came very

richly and sumptuously [attired], and it was a fine sight. A.D. 1489. Before the King rode all the nobles of his court on horseback, most of them dressed as nearly in the French fashion as they could, and well-mounted, and after them four sergeants-at-arms. And after the sergeants-at-arms came the heralds, of whom there were four, Richmond king-of-arms of the king of England, who was conducted at the right hand of Castile, king-of-arms of Castile. And before them went Aragon, king-of-arms, who conducted Snowdon, herald of the King of Scotland. And between them and the King's sword came the prince of Castile, who was dressed in a rich robe of cloth of gold, and [wore] on his head a black velvet cap of the old fashion. And he wore on his neck a rich *huchure* all adorned with large balass-rubies and other precious stones. After the prince came the person who carried the sword, whose name was Monsieur * *[1], and who was mounted on a fine jennet. And after him came the King mounted on a fine war horse all adorned with gold plate. The king was dressed in a robe of cloth of gold furred with ermine, with a large collar turned down in the German fashion, and a large border furred with the same. After the king came the Queen, mounted on a fine mule, and all the harness of the said mule was adorned with pearls and other precious stones. And she was dressed in a robe of a rich woven cloth of gold made in the fashion of the kingdom, and over that a mantilla all spangled with lozenges of crimson and black velvet, and on each lozenge was a large pearl. And [along with?] each of these pearls a rich balass-ruby the size of a beechnut, the richest thing that could be seen, no man ever saw anything equal to it. She had on her neck a large necklace all adorned with large diamonds, balass-rubies,

[1] Blank in original.

A.D. 1489. carbuncles, large pearls, and a great number of other rich precious stones. She had upon her head-dress two balass-rubies as pendants, the size of a pigeon's egg, and at the end of the said rubies a large pearl, which jewel was supposed to be worth twelve thousand crowns. In conclusion, so rich was the dress she wore that day that there is no man who can well imagine what could be the value of it. And the queen was conducted by the Cardinal of Castile. After the queen came the Infanta, the eldest daughter, who was dressed completely in rich cloth of gold of great value, and on her neck was a rich necklace all adorned with large precious stones. And after her came out thirty-six great ladies and maidens all of high birth, and all dressed in cloth of gold, not all of one livery, but quite different one from another, such a rich and beautiful sight that it was a wonderful thing, and the richness of the dress of these ladies would be too long to relate. But I wish to return to other things. After the tilting was over, the kings returned to the palace, and took the ambassadors with them and entered a large room; and there they sat under a rich cloth of state, of rich crimson velvet, and richly embroidered with the arms of Castile and Arragon, and covered with the device of the king, which is a * * [1] and his motto, written at length, which is, "Tantos monta."

After the Kings were seated the Prince seated himself at the right hand and the Infanta seated herself beside her mother at her left hand, and beside her sat the cardinal. And afterwards they caused the said ambassadors to be seated a little lower on a form at the right hand side. And on the other side of the Queen was seated the Count of Haro,

[1] Blank in original.

Constable of Castile, and the Count of Benavente, and others. And afterwards the minstrels began to play, and the ladies danced with the tilters, who were very richly dressed and disguised; and they danced till ten o'clock. And after it had struck ten the king commanded the prince to go and dance, which he did, and danced very well with a young lady whom he had chosen for his lady-love, whose name was * *[1] and who was a daughter of. * *[1] And after the prince had danced, the Infanta went to dance, and she took her Portuguese and danced with her; and all the young ladies together, two and two, danced in her party a low dance. And after she had danced this low dance the dancing ended for the night, and all the ladies and young maidens retired from the room. But the Kings and the Prince and the Infanta donna Isabella remained seated in their places. And the table was put before them. And they brought water for the two Kings' hands. And when the water was brought the Prince rose from the table and went and held the towel to the King his father and to the Queen his mother. And afterwards he went and sat down in his place near his father, at his right hand, a little lower towards the end of the table, and the water was brought to him, and similarly to his sister the Infanta. And after she had washed [her hands] the ambassadors, who were seated near the Infanta at the corner of the table, were made to wash [their hands]. And many and various dishes were served in great quantity. And it was a rich sight to see the vase of silver which was set on the table, and [which was] of great value. And it was a rich thing to see the richness of the buffet. After the supper was over the ambas-

A.D. 1489.

[1] Blank in original.

A.D. 1489. sadors were immediately commanded to take their leave, and were conducted to their lodging as has been written formerly. And it was nearly one hour after midnight when all had retired.

Fourth audience, 24 March.

Item, on the 24th day of March the kings sent for the said ambassadors. It was the eve of Our Lady of March, and they went to the complines. And afterwards they went with the kings into a gallery hung with fine tapestry. There they found the young princesses, these were Donna Maria and our princess of England Donna Catherine. The king and queen entered and went and sat down, the prince sat on the ground before him, and the eldest daughter before him, afterwards the other daughters. And I must say that the Queen was very richly dressed. And all her daughters were similarly dressed, and the said two daughters, the Infanta donna Maria, and the Infanta donna Catherine, princess of England, had fourteen maidens, all noble ladies [attending upon them] all of them dressed in cloth of gold, and all of them daughters of noblemen. The eldest of them was not more than fourteen years old. It was a beautiful sight to see the richness of their dresses. And after the said young ladies had danced two and two a considerable time, the Kings commanded their daughter the Infanta Donna Maria to go and dance, which she did. And she went and took another young lady of her age and size, and led her to dance. And so this lady danced a low and a high dance. And after that was done they danced no more. But the said ambassadors took leave, and went to their lodging, and were conducted as they had formerly been. Indeed I believe that no ambassadors ever went [on an embassy] who had more honor done them than was done to the said ambassadors in everything. People speak of the honor done to ambassadors in England; certainly it is not to be compared to the

honor which is done to ambassadors in the kingdom of Castile, and especially in the time of this noble king and queen. A.D. 1489.

And on the 25th day of this same month of March the said kings made another festival in honour of these ambassadors, to wit, a bull-fight. And afterwards there came out about a hundred knights and other noble men who were well mounted on fine jennets who skirmished and ran with dogs in the way they fought with the Saracens, which thing was a fine sight. And the kings and the prince and three of the sons of the said kings were on the said scaffolding, and the ambassadors beside them. And it was beautiful to see how the queen held up her youngest daughter, who was the Infanta donna Catherine, princess of Wales; and at that time she was three years of age. After all that amusement was over, the King and Queen retired, and took the ambassadors with them, and went into the large room, and there the ladies and maidens began to dance with the gentlemen who had made the sport of the said dogs and bulls. 25 March. A bull-fight in honor of the ambassadors.

The King was dressed at this time in a gown of black cloth with open sleeves. And the left sleeve of the said gown was bordered with great balass-rubies and large rich pearls. And he wore a fine necklace of * *.[1] And the Queen was dressed in a rich robe of green satin [figured with] lozenges embroidered and worked with the needle very richly. And round the collar of the said robe, in the manner of a necklace, was a border the width of two fingers all made of large precious stones and large pearls. And the border of the robe and the sleeves were hanging down to the ground, and were of crimson velvet. And large letters of beaten gold, the length of a quarter of a yard, were

[1] Unfinished sentence in original.

A.D. 1489. sewed upon it, and it was her motto; and each letter was decorated with large pearls, the richest thing that ever was seen. The prince was dressed in a short robe down to the breech, and with black nether garments and shoes with long points in the old fashion. And the said robe was bordered with the same motto as the Queen's, and in similar letters of beaten gold. And he wore a cap of black velvet made in a roll in the old fashion. And the Infanta donna Isabella was dressed in a robe of green cloth of gold with a beautiful rich necklace of gold; and she was in no lack of large rich precious stones. The third daughter, called Donna Maria, who is married or betrothed to the Duke Philip of Austria, was dressed in a rich grey cloth of gold. And she too was in no lack of fine rich jets and precious stones. And as for the dresses and the wealth of those ladies and maidens I could not put it in writing for you, for I could not write it in a year, the disguises and the richness of the changes in dress that they had every time while these festivals lasted. And if I should say ever so much there would still be much more [to say].

26 March. On the 26th day of March the said ambassadors were sent for in order to come to a conclusion of the business they had to do. But because there was wanting one article to the writings which had been made upon the matters which were between the two kings, for this night the said ambassadors could not agree with the King's commissioners. And next day, which was the 27th day of March, they went again before the kings and concluded all their business. And there the Kings were sworn upon a book to keep firm and good all that had been concluded there between them and my sovereign lord King Henry of England, the Seventh of his name. And after the said Kings had thus made oath, the said ambassadors took their leaves of the Kings, and of my lord the Prince, and of all the princesses their daughters; after this was done the Kings desired that

27 March.

The ambassadors take their leaves of the King and Queen.

the said ambassadors should conduct them out of the town, which they did. And God knows they departed from the town of Medina very pompously. And the King and my lord the Prince his son rode together. And the King took Master Nanfan to his right hand side, and the doctor Savage to the other side, to the left of my lord the prince. And so they departed together. And the Queen and the princesses with the other ladies and maidens followed in great number. These embassadors conducted the said Kings about two bow-shots from the town, and there the king commanded them to return. And there the said ambassadors took their leaves again, and kissed the hands of the King, the Queen, the prince, and all the princesses the King's daughters, and they also took leave of my lord Cardinal, and so they departed. And the said ambassadors were conducted back again to the said town by several nobles, prelates, doctors, knights, and esquires to the number of a hundred horse. A.D. 1489.

On the 28th day of March the King's Treasurers came to the said ambassadors, and brought them the gifts which the Kings had ordered them to give them; that is, which the said Kings had given to each of them, to wit; a war-horse, called in this kingdom of Castille a barbed horse, and a Moorish jennet, and two mules, four * *[1], ten yards of silk stuffs and sixty marks of silver to each of them; and to Richmond they gave twenty-five yards of silk stuff and a mule, and John Nanfan, bastard son of Master Richard Nanfan, had the same as the said Richmond. And so the said ambassadors took leave of the deputies who had been assigned for their guidance, namely, the doctor Taillaviere, the secretary Ferdinand Alvarez, and one named Don Diego de Guynar who at that time had Presents received by them, 28 March.

[1] A word seems to be omitted in the original.

A.D. 1489. been ordered to go to England, and the doctor de Puebla and John de Sepoulveda, knight of the King's household. And the said ambassadors remained in the said town of Medina for the space of four days after the Kings had left it. And on the last day of March we left the said town of Medina on our way to Portugal, and went to dine in a village beyond Medina called Bobadille, which is three leagues from Medina. And from Bobadille they went to sleep at another village called Ragama, which is four leagues from Bobadille. And on the first day of April they left Ragama and went to dine at a village called Salmoral, which is other four leagues from Ragama. From Salmoral they went to sleep at a village called Diogalur, which is other four leagues. From Diogalur they set off on the 2d day of April, and went to dine at Pont de Cagosto, which is other four leagues. And from Pont de Cagosto they went to sleep at a town called Beigar de Castamghaur, which is other four leagues.

Their departure from Medina for Portugal, 31 March.

1 April.

2 April.

In this town of Beigar the said ambassadors found the duke of Placentia, who had arrived the evening before in the said town. And when he heard the news that the ambassadors were to come to sleep that night in the town, he immediately caused a house of his, that he had in the said town, to be prepared, and there he caused them to be lodged. And then he caused their supper to be prepared very honourably, of good fresh fish, both salt and fresh-water [fish], and they had good cheer. But they did not speak with him nor see him, for it was then too late, but he sent to tell them by his steward that they were welcome, and that he should give them the best cheer he could, with all his heart, and that he knew very well that it was the will of the king his sovereign lord that he should do so; and that if it was their pleasure to rest in this town that they would do him a great pleasure, and that he would take them to hunt, and give them all

the pleasure and amusement that he could. And the said ambassadors answered, that they thanked his grace for the great entertainment and good cheer that he had given them. And that if it were his good pleasure they would set off very early next morning, which they did. And it was the 3d day of April, and they went and had refreshments that day at a village which is called Aldea Nueva, which is four leagues from Beigar; and from Aldea Nueva they went to sleep at Vilhar, which is three leagues [further]. And from Vilhar they went to the city of Placentia which is three leagues [further]. A.D. 1489.

And they entered this city of Placentia on the 4th day of April, and there they found another knight called Don Francisco de Sconniga, uncle of the duke of Placentia. But they were at variance, the duke and he, because that Don Francisco had taken the said city of Placentia from the said duke, and given it to the King of Castile. This Don Francisco received the said ambassadors into his house very honourably. And for that day they remained in the said city, lodged with him in his house. And there they dined and supped in their rooms, but not with him, because he wished to be with my lady his wife. And because it is not the custom of the country that women ever come and eat in company with strangers, this was the reason they were by themselves. 4 April.

And the next day which was Passion Sunday they heard mass in the same house. And after mass they dined very well. And it was the 5th day. And they got on horseback, and the said lord Don Francisco also mounted a fine jennet and conducted them out of the city, and there took his leave of them. And that night they went to sleep at a village called Canhaveral, which is seven leagues from Placentia. And beyond Canhaveral Richmond left the said ambassadors, and rode before to [announce ?] their arrival at the first 5 April. Richmond leaves the party, 6 April.

A.D. 1489. town in the kingdom of Portugal. And on the morning of the 6th day he set off and went for refreshment into a good village called Rue de Poirquo, which is seven leagues from Canhaveral, and where there is a river to cross by boat two leagues from Canhaveral, which river is called Tagus. And this river runs to the city of Lisbon in the kingdom of Portugal. And from Rue de Poirquo the said Richmond went to sleep that night in a wood in which there were only two houses, which was five leagues beyond Rue de Poirquo, and the name of that place with two houses is La Vente. From La Vente he went to dine at a town called Albuquerque, which is four leagues beyond La Vente. And from Albuquerque he went to sleep in the town of Elvas, which is six leagues from Albuquerque. And this Elvas is in the kingdom of Portugal, a good and strong town. And the said Richmond arrived in this town of Elvas in Portugal on the 8th day of April. And as soon as he was arrived in the said town he went to speak to the governors of the town to intimate the coming of the said ambassadors, and also to order their lodging. And next day the said governors ordered the said lodging for the said ambassadors. And after this was done, the said Richmond sent a messenger with a letter from him to the said king of Portugal to intimate to him that the said ambassadors had entered his kingdom. And it was the 8th day of April.

and enters Portugal, 8 April.

His colleagues follow, 9 April.

And on the 9th day of April the said ambassadors entered the said town of Elvas at the hour of noon. And they remained in this town of Elvas till they heard news from the king concerning his good pleasure. It is true that during the time that these ambassadors were in the town of Elvas, as soon as they were arrived he[1] sent them a present, which was a load of

[1] The writer here uses a pronoun without an antecedent, as the word cannot apply to the King of Portugal.

wine and three loads of barley for the horses, and a large dish of sweet-meats, and another of fried fish made in the manner of the country, and prayed them that it would please them to pardon him for not having gone to meet them on the road, and he had done so because the custom of the country is that when the wife or other relative of a gentleman dies, the near relatives and friends keep within the house for some days, and so this gentleman was doing. After this gentleman (whose name was Ruy Dabreu, captain of the castle of the said town,) had sent his present, another gentleman, cousin-german of that gentleman captain of the castle, called Leones Pesteuna, (who was captain of the town,) sent the said ambassadors a present, to wit, wine and fruits, sweet-meats and other luxuries. And after all this, the town sent a present to the said ambassadors, to wit, a basket full of fish, both fresh and salt-water [fish] in great abundance, as well as wine, bread, and fruits, and several other things in great abundance. A.D. 1489.

These said ambassadors remained in that town of Elvas for the space of four days, and kept Palm Sunday[1] in the said town of Elvas; and after mass had been said, the Saracens and their wives came to dance before the said ambassadors, and also the players performed parts as well as they could. And on the 13th day of April the said ambassadors departed [to go to] the king, in company of the gentleman of the king's household whom the said king had sent to conduct the said ambassadors. And they were conducted out of the said town by the estates and governors of the said town in the most honorable manner possible. And that same 13th day of April they went to sleep at a town called Villa Vicossa, which is four leagues from Elvas, going towards Beja, where the king was. They leave Elvas, 13 April.

[1] The 12th of April in 1489.

A.D. 1489. There came to that town Villa Vicossa a knight to the ambassadors, sent by the king, who told them that the king saluted them and had sent to say, that as they had come during the Holy Week, and that he was in the habit, according to custom, of retiring to a church on the Thursday at the time of the *mandatum*, and not coming out of the said church till vespers on Easter-day after high mass is said, for this reason it appeared to him that it would be better [for them] to remain during Easter in the said town of Villa Vicossa than to proceed, as this town was the best before coming to that where the king was; however he left it to their own discretion. And the said ambassadors answered that they thought it was better for them to go to within a day's journey of the king. And the said knight hearing the wishes of the ambassadors said, that all should be at their pleasure. And so they departed immediately and went to sleep that night at three leagues from Villa Vicossa in a town called Redondo. And these said ambassadors were received and again conducted out of the said town of Villa Vicossa by three noble gentlemen, sons of a noble knight called Ayres de Mirando, and these three gentlemen were escorted by forty horse [men] on fine jennets, and well mounted. After these ambassadors had entered the town, the mother of these noble gentlemen sent the said ambassadors a present of two or three sorts of wine and preserves, and the following morning likewise; and sent to tell them that if my lord her husband had been at home they should have lodged with him, and for this [she prayed] that they would be pleased to excuse them.

This knight that the king had sent to them in the said town of Villa Vicossa was called Senhor Gil Matosso, and he arrived where they were on the 14th day of April; and on the 15th day they left Redondo, and went to dine at a town called Portel. And in that

14, 15 April.

town they were lodged in the house of a knight called Senhor Fernand Alverez Madoureira, and they were there for the space of five days. And as it was near Easter the king wished them to remain during Easter in this town, and so they did. And the said knight defrayed all the expense of the food they ate out of his house and of their clothing during the time they were there. And there was no scarcity of good victuals, but great abundance. A.D. 1489. Stay over Easter at Portel;

And on the 21st day of April the said ambassadors left the said town of Portel, and went to dine at a village called Vedegeira, which is two leagues from Portel. And there the king's household was. In this town of Portel a great festival was made for the ambassadors, dances of men and women in the fashion of the country, bull-fights and wrestlings; all possible amusement and pleasure was made for them. It is true that at a league from that village called Vedegeira, where the king's household was, the high chancellor of Portugal came well attended by several nobles and persons of condition, such as knights, doctors and attorneys, barristers, esquires, and other persons of condition to the number of a hundred horse. And there the said chancellor made a great address to the said ambassadors on the part of the king, his sovereign lord; the conclusion of which address was that the said king, his sovereign, was very joyful at their arrival, and that they were welcome to his kingdom, and not like strangers, but like the people of his own kingdom, for he held the King of England, his cousin, as his own brother, his true friend and ancient ally, and for this reason they were more welcome in his kingdom than any others, of whatever nation they might be. 21 April. Are met by the chancellor of Portugal near Vedegeira.

After the said chancellor had made this address, the doctor Savage, as a man of condition, answered him upon the said address in such a way that the said chancellor and all the other knights in his com-

A.D. 1489. pany gave him great praise. And so, after this was over, they rode together to the said village. And there the said ambassadors dined with a knight called Senhor Alvaro de Caminha. And after they had dined the said chancellor came on horseback in quest of them to their lodging, and rode in their company on the way to Beja where the King was. And when they were a league from the said town they were met by the Grand Seneschal of Portugal, the Captain of Portugal, and another baron called Senhor Ruy de Soussa, who received them on the part of the King, their said sovereign. And so they rode on till they came to within half a league of the town. And there they were again met by several noble lords, who were, the Marquis of Ville Real, and the Count * *[1], the Count de Marialva, the Count of Abraynches, the count * *[1], and several other great lords and barons, knights, and squires, and a great number of other noble persons, all mounted on fine and handsome horses and mules, and well dressed. And so they rode on till within a quarter of a league from the town. And there they were again met by the Bishop of Lamego, the Bishop of Ceuta, and the Prior of the order of St. John, called the Prior of Crato, and several other knights, heralds, and trumpeters, who continued blowing the trumpet till they entered the town.

Arrive at Beja;

And when they were a bow-shot from the said town, at the gate of the said town there was a beautiful, high, and strong tower fortified with marble. And this tower was full of banners, and there were at their posts several gunners who fired a salute of several cannons. And after the cannons had ceased the minstrels began to play on their "cherumbelles" and sackbuts [in a manner] marvellously pleasant to hear from the height

[1] Blank in original.

that they were in that tower. And so [the ambassadors] were conducted to their lodging by all those people, amounting to the number of seven or eight hundred horse. In their lodging they found supper ready, great abundance of victuals, bread, wine, and all that was necessary. A.D. 1439.

And next day, which was the 22d day of April, the ambassadors were sent for by the bishop of Evora, the bishop of Ceuta, and several nobles, to go before the King. That day was the eve of St. George's day, and there the ambassadors, that is, Mr. Richard Nanfan, delivered their letters to the King. And the doctor Savage made the speech, which was well done and pleasing to hear, and for which he received great praise and honour. And after the said speech was made the King took them apart, and conversed a little with them, and then they went and kissed the hand of the prince, and saluted the Duke of Visseu, cousin-german of the King, and brother of the Queen of Portugal. And after this was done, the King asked them if they would go to hear the vespers of St. George, and they answered that they would, and so they conducted the King to the church. And after the vespers were said, the said ambassadors conducted the King out of the church. And there the King commanded them to go to their lodging, and they were conducted by the same persons who had brought them before the King. Next day, which was the 23d day * *[1]. On the 26th day the King made bull-fights for the sake of the ambassadors. And the King and the Queen went there, both very richly dressed, and all the noble ladies, and it was beautiful to see the King and Queen riding together. 22 April. and deliver their credentials to the King. 26 April.

And that same day the said ambassadors dined with the bishop of Evora, who is cousin of the King, and

[1] Sentence incomplete in the original.

A.D. 1489. whose name is * *[1], who made them a great dinner. And several noble knights of his lineage and others
28 April. dined in their company. On the Tuesday, which was the 28th day of April, they had a great dinner with the captain of Tangier, called Don John de Menesses, who made a great festival, and had several noblemen to dine in their company. They were received at their dinner with several entertainments and music, such as singers, trumpets, clarions, sackbuts, and several other
29 April. sorts of music. On the Wednesday, which was the 29th day of April, they were asked to go to hunt with the bishop of Lamego, who sent for them at six o'clock in the morning and made them hunt and hawk, and they had all the amusement that he could possibly make for them. And after the chase was over in the morning, he gave them, in a garden, a great dinner, at which were present also several noble knights and people of condition.

3 May. And on Sunday, which was the 3d day of May, they dined with the Marquis of Ville Reall, who also made a great entertainment for them. The King received the Order of the Garter on the 2d day of May, most honorably, in presence of several nobles of his kingdom. And he held the feast of St. George as it is usually held in England, that is, he began to keep it on the Saturday at dinner, and in the same dress he sat down to dinner, and rode after dinner to vespers on a fine courser; and from vespers again to supper. And the same next day, which was a fine sight. And after the second vespers were said the king made his vow and the ambassadors in company with him. And after the vow was made, the King retired to his chamber to take off the habiliments of the said Garter, and put on others. And during this time the prince and the

Who receives the Order of the Garter, 2 May.

[1] Blank in original.

duke remained in another room, conversing with the said ambassadors. Afterwards the King came, and went for the Queen, and conducted her to the great saloon to dance, and make festival in honor of the said Garter. The King and Queen danced in a circle together. And my lord the prince carried the torch before them, dancing alone. After the King had danced, the Duke went to dance with a young lady. And shortly after the prince went to dance a high dance with a young lady. And in a short time after the prince went to dance a high dance with another young lady. And immediately after the festival was broken up, and the King and Queen retired. And the said ambassadors were conducted to their lodging by the chancellor of Portugal and the bishop of Ceuta. A.D. 1489.

On the day that the said king received the said Garter he was dressed in a long jacket of fine violet napped cloth, and it was richly lined (?) with fine-drawn gold thread. And over this he had a cloak of fine scarlet cloth in the fashion of the country; which dresses he gave to Richmond King of Arms for his fee, because the Garter was presented by him to the hands of Mr. Richard Nanfan, who put them on the body of the said king. Doctor Savage then made an address to him on the part of king Henry, our sovereign lord, how he was elected for one of the companions of the said order, on account of the great virtue and prowess that he possessed; and also on account of the great friendship and the relationship which was in him the said order had been sent to him.

And so the said ambassadors were in the said town of Beja for the space of a month after the king had received the said Garter. And they were dismissed by the king on the 23d day of May. And the king defrayed all the expenses they had had in the said town. And he caused a gilt cup of the value of fully 40 marks to be given to Mr. Richard Nanfan. And he

The king dismisses the ambassadors, 23 May.

A.D. 1489. gave him in this cup 200 justos which were worth about 220 marks. And the doctor Savage had another cup of the same size, weight, and shape, and also gilt, and in it 300 espadins which were worth 60*l.* and more. And Richmond King of Arms had given him in a glove 50 spadins, which was worth 10*l.*

They leave Beja, 25 May.

And on the 25th day of May the said ambassadors departed from the said town of Beja, and were conducted out of the town by the bishop of Ceuta, Senhor Ruy de Sousso, the chancellor of Portugal, and several others. After they had thus departed, the duke of Beja, cousin german of the king, sent after Mr. Richard Nanfan a Moorish horse named Le Teliz, which was called the best in the kingdom, to be given to him. And saddle and bridle were all in the Moorish fashion. And the head-stall and the stirrups were all of silver gilt, and were of the value of 50 marks. And the saddle-cloth was all thickly embroidered with gold thread, so that the said horse and its furniture was valued at 200*l.* sterling. The said horse was presented to him in a village called Le Tourrom, where they went to sleep on the night that they left the said town of Beja on their way to the city of Lisbon, and at seven leagues from the said town of Beja.

On the 26th of May they went to sleep at Algacer do Sal, a good small town which is on the coast. And

27 May.

there they entered a boat on the 27th day, which was the eve of the Ascension, and went to sleep in another town called Setonnel which is nine leagues from Algacer do Sal. From Torron to Algacer it is five leagues. And in the said town of Setonnel they remained all

and arrive at Lisbon, 30 May.

that Ascension-day. And on the 30th day they arrived at the city of Lisbon. And the king had caused them to be lodged in his house called the hostel of Rocio. In the said city the said ambassadors found Mr. Edward Brandon, who during the time that they were in the said city accompanied them, and did them all the

honor that he could, and entertained them in his house two or three times most honorably. These said ambassadors were accompanied by the merchants who were of the kingdom of England in the said city, such as were resident in the said city, as Thomas Smithe, Thomas Tirry, William Cabol, Thomas Baker, and other merchants of the city of London and the town of Bristol. In five or six days after these ambassadors arrived in the city, Mr. Richard Nanfan loaded and freighted a vessel of Bristol called La Marie Gallante of 20 tons burden, which vessel he loaded with salt. And the doctor Savage freighted another vessel which was of Biscay, called * *[1] of seven score tons burden, which he also loaded with salt and sugars. A.D. 1489.

And when the said vessels were thus laden, on the 24th day of June, which was the day of the Nativity of Saint John, the seigneur de St. Germain came to anchor at Cascalles, a road which is five leagues from Lisbon, and there he took three English ships, one of a hundred tons, another of four score, and another of sixty tons; which news made the said ambassadors stay in the said city, until they could find and obtain means to make the said Saint Germain depart. And they made Richmond King of Arms write a letter to the said Saint Germain to make him deliver up the said ships, the goods and prisoners, for they did not understand that there was any war between the two kings, or that any truce had been broken. On which letter the said [Saint] Germain answered that he would like to meet them at sea, and that then he would show them whether there was war between the two kings or not. And no other answer would he give. And in five or six days after this answer was given the said Seigneur de St. Germain departed from Cascalles

24 June. The seigneur de St. Germain takes three English ships.

[1] Blank in original.

A.D. 1489. and went towards the King of Portugal, who was in Algarve, in the town of Taville. And after he had left, the ambassadors departed from Lisbon, on the 3d day of July, to take their passage. And they went to sleep at a village which is three leagues from Lisbon, called Wiweires, and were there for the space of four days.

The ambassadors embark for England 7 July.

And on the 7th day of the said month of July the said ambassadors entered their ship to go to England, at about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, and that day they went under sail. And they were ten days between Wieres and Cape Finisterre before they were able to double the said cape. And on the said 10th day in the morning, between five and six o'clock, the wind came to the south-west, and so began to blow in such a way that in the afternoon at three o'clock we doubled the said cape. And after thus doubling the said cape, the wind increased more and more as much as it could, to so great a degree that on the eleventh day after our said departure, in the evening at sunset, we had passed half the Spanish sea between the said cape and the first land of England, which was seventy leagues; for between the one land and the other there are seven score leagues, and between the City of Lisbon and the said Cape of Finisterre there are four score leagues, so we made as much way after we had passed the said cape in a day and a night as we had made in the other ten days before mentioned; so we held on our route all that eleventh day till the hour of noon, which was Friday. And that Friday the eleventh day, at the hour of noon as was written before, the wind suddenly changed from the south to the north, quite contrary. And after it had come to the north it began to calm. And that calm lasted all that night till next day, which was the twelfth day since our departure, and was Saturday, till about noon. And at the hour of noon it veered round to the south-east; and so it remained till three o'clock in the

afternoon. And then came a good fresh breeze from the south-west, which lasted all that night and next day, which was Sunday, and the thirteenth day. And it blew so strong that it carried us fully three leagues an hour, and it was the finest weather that man could desire. And this weather lasted all that day till midnight. And at midnight, as the moon rose, the wind changed again to the north, and north-north-west. And that morning, which was the fourteenth day of our voyage, the weather became very bad with wind and great rain; and then we were only fifteen leagues from the island of Sorlingue. And that contrary wind with drizzling rain detained us all that day and next day, which was the sixteenth day, and the day of the Magdalen. Great trouble we had to double the Cape of Cornwall, however we doubled it on Monday evening with great trouble at four o'clock in the afternoon. And after we had doubled it, that same wind blew us off shore, however it was calm, for which reason we could not recover land. And the next day, the beforesaid day of the Magdalen, we gained the land of Padstow in Cornwall.

A.D. 1489.

22 July.

Are 16 days at sea,

and land in Cornwall.

And in the morning at six o'clock Sir Richard Nanfan landed with all his company. The doctor Savage took his leave of the said Sir Richard Nanfan immediately after doubling the said cape, and took his way towards Bristol with his ship. After the said Sir Richard had landed, Richmond King of Arms took his leave to go to his own home, which leave the said knight granted him, praying him that he, the said Richmond, would go within a day after he should arrive at home, and ride to the King to certify to his grace that he had landed, and also that the said doctor had gone to land at Bristol. And so the said Richmond did, and went that evening to sleep at a village twenty miles from Padstow, called Launceston. And next day he went to sleep at Exeter, which is thirty-

A.D. 1489. five miles from Launceston, and it was the 23d day of July. And from Exeter he departed on the 24th day, and went to sleep that night at Shaftesbury. And next day, which was the 25th day, I went to sleep at my own house at Southampton, and there I was till the 27th day. And on the 28th day I arrived [where] his grace the King [was] in his castle of Windsor, where I gave him the news of the Kings of Castile and of the King of Portugal, and of the landing of those ambassadors in England with news of the aforesaid kings. And so I made an end of my journey that day, the 28th of July.

First Embassy to Britanny.

Anno 1490, the 12th day of June, the fifth year of the reign of King Henry, the Seventh in England of that name. A.D. 1490.

Memorandum, that the King, our Sovereign Lord, sent Mr. Robert Clifford, knight of the guard of the King's person, and Richmond, King of Arms of Norroy, in embassy to Monsieur de Rieux, Marshal of Britanny. And the said ambassadors departed from the King's grace on the 14th day of this before-mentioned month of June, and set out on their way to the town of Southampton, from which they expected to take their passage. And the said Richmond arrived in the said town of Southampton by the space of two days before the said Mr. Robert Clifford, to order his passage for him, which he did. But when the said Mr. Robert had arrived in the said town of Southampton, and had seen the boat that the said Richmond had ordered for him, and for their horses, the said Mr. Robert refused the said boat, because it was too small, as it appeared to him, for his person; for it was only sixteen tons [burden]. And for this reason the said Mr. Robert immediately sent a pursuivant called Brook, who was a follower of the great steward of the king's household, to the town of Portsmouth to the clerk of the King's navy, who was at that time in the said town of Portsmouth, whose name was John Commersal, to ask him that he would be pleased to order, in that said town, a ship for his passage with all diligence, with a placard

Sir Robert Clifford and Richmond King of Arms sent to Britanny.

A.D. 1490. sealed with the King's privy seal, in which his grace commanded that with the greatest diligence a passage for these said ambassadors should be ordered, at the expense of the said King. And the said Commersal, after he had received the said privy seal of the King, with the request of the said Mr. Robert Clifford, immediately caused to be ordered for him in that said town a bark of sixty tons burden, the name of which was, "The Magdalen of Portsmouth," which was a good fine vessel, and well furnished.

22 June. After 12 days' detention leave Portsmouth, 4 July.

The said Mr. Robert and Richmond arrived at this town of Portsmouth on the 22d day of June, and were there for the space of twelve days before [there was] a wind that could suit them. And on the thirteenth day they left Portsmouth, which was the 4th day of July, about nine o'clock. And the wind blew from the north-west all that day till evening near sunset, and then the wind changed to the south. And nothing could be done but to cast anchor because the wind and tide were against us. And we cast anchor beyond Poole in a place called Swanzee.[1] And there we were till eleven o'clock, before midnight. And then we weighed anchor. And the wind and tide remained [favorable] till next morning at five o'clock, and with this short wind we gained Weymouth.

5, 6 July. And there we were all that day, which was the 5th day. And on the 6th day, at ten o'clock at night, we left Weymouth against the wishes of the sailors, because the wind was insufficient; but Master Clifford commanded them to depart, to shorten the voyage, so as to make the more haste to accomplish what the king had commanded us. And all that night after we had set off the wind blew west north-west, but so lightly all that night and all next day that it was impossible for us to gain the coast of Britanny, but we were obliged to take the isle of Guernsey, which we did.

[1] Doubtless Swanage.

And as we were entering the harbour of St. Peter Port two ships of war came out upon us, the one from St. Malo of forty tons burden, and the other of Cherbourg of thirty tons burden. They attacked us very fiercely; but we defended ourselves from them, God be thanked, so well that if Master Clifford had allowed it, we might have taken both of them. But Master Clifford would not have our people to fight until we should be landed, because he would not run the risk for the sake of the great charge we had in our embassy. And so we were landed at Cornet Castle; and there the lieutenant came to receive us, with the soldiers of the castle, which lieutenant was called John Apris.[1] And after we were thus landed, Master Clifford prayed the said lieutenant, that it would please him to lend him some of his soldiers to assist the ship, and that they might give chase again to the two French ships, or else that he would fight them. And the said lieutenant said that he would do so very willingly, and he lent him fourteen men, who went on board. And as soon as they were on board the master of the ship ordered to weigh anchor and lower the sail, and took to the chase after them. But the wind calmed on them, and the French had not courage to wait, but went away and put to sea. And so our people returned to the said harbour of St. Peter Port.

A.D. 1496. Are attacked by French men-of-war;

which with assistance from Guernsey they put to flight.

When we had come to the said port we found there four ships of French pilgrims, among whom was the Grand Porcon and his wife, and another knight called Morgan, who were going on a pilgrimage to St. James. We arrived in the town of St. Peter Port on the 7th day of the said month of July. And there we remained till the 11th, which was a Sunday; and that 11th day in the evening at sunset we left St. Peter Port with a

7 July.

11 July.

[1] Qu. Ap Rice?

A.D. 1490. wind from the north-east, and arrived at Lantregier next morning at six o'clock, which was the 12th day of July. And as soon as we were arrived in the said town, there we had news that the marshal was in the town of Vannes. And that same day Master Clifford made the governors of the town come to him to provide horses for him, in order to make his journey to the marshal that same day, which he did. And we set off about four o'clock in the afternoon, and went to sleep that night at Guingamp, which is seven leagues from Lanterguer. And when we arrived at the said town of Guingamp, Master Clifford was met there on the way by the captain of the town with all the gentlemen who were in garrison under him; which captain's name was William Bas Bouchel. On the 13th day we left Guingamp, and went that day to sleep at Rotram, which is six leagues from Guingamp. And from Rotram we went to take refreshment at a village called Beubri, which is six leagues from Rotram. And from Beubri we went to sleep at a village called Plouenguir, which is four leagues from Beubri. And from Plouenguir we went to Vannes, which is five leagues from Plouenguir.

They land in Britanny.

15 July And we entered the town of Vannes on the 15th day of July. And at a quarter of a league we were met on the road by Mr. John Norbury, Mr. Richard Woodville, Monsieur de la Marche, and other English gentlemen, accompanied by the archers and a part of the company, that they had in their two retinues. And in the said town we expected to find the marshal, but at that time he had not yet arrived in the said town, but he was at Malétroit, a town six leagues from Vannes. And that same night we sent Brook, the pursuivant, to him, to know what his good pleasure was as to where we should go to him. And next day which was the 16th day he sent to us the Governor of Auxerre, and his Controller, who came to salute us on his part, and told us that the marshal

16 July.

was very happy, and that next day they would conduct us to him to converse with him at a village that is five leagues from Vannes called Musillac; but yet we did not go there, but the marshal sent word that he would come to us in that town of Vannes, which he did. And he came to the said town on the 18th day of July. And within half an hour after he had arrived in the said town he came to Master Clifford's lodging to pay his respects to him. And after they had a short conversation together they retired into a room. And in company with the marshal was the Governor of Auxerre, and no one else, and with Master Robert Clifford was Richmond King of Arms. This Richmond made the proposition to the marshal, and made the overtures touching the subject of their commission. And after this was done the marshal answered them that he would speak with his council, and that after supper he would come to the said Robert, which he did. And so after supper the said marshal came in quest of the said Mr. Robert, and took him before the Prince of Orange and Madame de Laval, who were both together. And there the said Mr. Robert paid his respects to the Prince and to Madame de Laval, and Richmond did the same. And so they conversed a little together. And afterwards the said marshal retired a little apart with Mr. Robert and Richmond, and the three [conversed] together. And the said Richmond again entered at some length on the commission that the said Mr. Robert and he had from the King their Sovereign Lord to the said marshal; on which matter the marshal declared himself to be well pleased, and that he was very glad of the coming of the said Master Robert; and that, upon the declaration that we had made to him on the part of the King our said Sovereign Lord, that next day he would speak with his council; and that the said Mr. Robert and Richmond should dine with him, and that then he would

A.D. 1490.

18 July.

Meet Marshal de Rieux;

to whom Richmond opens their commission:

A.D. 1490. communicate more at large with them after he had spoken with his council.

which the marshal makes known to the Three Estates of the Duchy.

At that time when the said Mr. Robert and Richmond had come to the said marshal in that said town of Vannes, the three estates of the duchy of Britanny were at the same time assembled in the said town, to whom it was necessary to have knowledge of the commission that we had to the marshal; for the matter concerned the whole duchy of Britanny. For which reason it was necessary that the said marshal should declare it to the three estates; which estates assembled next day, which was the 19th day. And that day the marshal sent for us to dine with him. And after dinner was over he said that he wished to go to the estates, to declare and open up to them the cause of our coming, which he did. And in the evening we went to supper with him. And then he appointed to converse with us in the church of St. Peter's [next day] which was the 20th day.

19 July.

20 July.

That 20th day the marshal did not speak to us in the said church as he had appointed, but sent for us at the dinner hour to dine with him, which we did. And when the dinner was over, the said marshal made us come into his room, and there took with him the Governor of Auxerre and the Controller of Britanny, and there began to communicate with us regarding our business. And that same day it was concluded that the said marshal should take into the town and castle of Nantes a certain number of English, and that in all haste I, Richmond, should go to England to the King our Sovereign Lord to make him hasten the large and powerful army which he had quite ready, and to have it sent over in all haste, for the case required it, as the French had determined to besiege the town of Nantes. On the 22d day the said seneschal[1] asked us to supper with him, and said that after supper he

Richmond is sent back to hasten the promised succours to Britanny.

22 July.

[1] Sic, for *marshal*.

would dismiss me, which he did. And immediately after he had supped he took us apart, and gave me all my commission upon what he would have me to say to the King our said Sovereign Lord; but he told me he did not wish me to take leave of him till next morning which was the 23d day. And that morning he sent for me and for Mr. Robert Clifford at about five o'clock in the morning. And when we came to him we found him with the Prince, and both he and the Prince were ready to mount their horses to go hunting. And there, on the streets, I took leave of him and of the Prince as they were going to mount their horses. And after I had taken my leave of him, I went to take my leave of the Prince, who prayed that I would commend him to the King my Sovereign Lord. And so the said lords departed. And after they had departed the Controller of Britanny came, whose name was William de Bongeur, who gave me 40 *mailhes postules* which the said lord marshal had sent me to defray my expenses out of the town.

A.D. 1490.

23 July.

And after all this was done, and I had taken my leave of all, I desired the provost of the town to provide horses for me to a town called Hennebon; but for all I could do I could not get horses to hire all that day, till next day, which was the 24th day of July, full two hours after dinner. Item, while I was thus waiting for horses there came news to the marshal, both from France and England. Item, from France, that the Lord de Guimine had gone on the part of the duchess into France to see if there was going to be a truce on a certain day, as I have to show more fully by the letters which the said Lord de Guimine had sent to the duchess about what he had been occupied with in France, on the one hand; on the other was the news brought by a courier from the duchess, which was that the King our Sovereign Lord was sending the Earl of Shrewsbury into Britanny with a great

24 July.

The marshal receives important news from France and England.

A.D. 1490. military force to the number of 8,000 soldiers to assist the duchess in the defence of the said duchy against King Charles VIII. of France.

Departure of Richmond with Mons. Gibon.

And after this news was thus come to the marshal, I, Richmond, took horse in company with a secretary of the duchess called Monsieur Jean Gibon, who at that time was going to England on an embassy to the King. And we went that day to sleep at a village called Auray, which is four leagues from the town of Vannes going towards Morlaix. And next day

25 July.

which was Sunday, and the 25th day of the said month, we heard mass in the said village. And we went to dine at Hennebon, which is six leagues from Auray. And there we supped, and we went to sleep at Faveny, which is six leagues from Hennebon. We departed from Faveny on the 26th day and went to dine at Carhaix. And there we found Master James Parker and Master Sampson Norton, who were going with their company to the marshal, who had sent for them by one of his gentlemen, who had the charge of conducting them to the said marshal, whose name was * * [1] Seigneur de Daureon. From Carhaix we went to Morlaix, and there we arrived at ten o'clock at night.

27 July.

And we were two days in Morlaix. And on the 27th day of the said month the said captains sent to tell me how they had had a battle with the peasant serfs of the territory of the Lord of Rohan and the Lord of Quintin his brother, because they would not pay

The Breton peasants rebel, and attack the English.

the hearth-money to the duchess; and therefore they rebelled against her, saying that they were quite ruined as well by the duchess as by the King of France and the King of England, and that they would endure no more, but would choose a duke and a duchess at their own will. And therefore they would obey no

[1] Blank in original.

one but themselves. And to make the thing short they said that they would fight those said English, which they did. And there they came together the one against the other, till there were killed on the side of the peasants 400 serfs and 300 taken; and of the English some were wounded, but none died nor were killed. A.D. 1490.

Item, next day we departed from Morlaix, which was the 28th day, and were at sea all that day, and next day which was the 29th day. And on the last day of the said month we arrived at Dartmouth, and heard the news that the King was at Portsmouth, and was making ready the large army. And so we set out that last day of July and rode that night to Exeter. And we arrived there at eleven o'clock, before midnight. Next day which was Sunday and the 1st day of August, I, Richmond, rose early and went to speak to the mayor of the said city of Exeter to provide horses for me, which he did; but it was full two hours after noon before I could have them. And as soon as they were delivered to me I mounted on horseback, and went to sleep that night at Chard which is twenty-two miles from Exeter, riding towards Salisbury. On the 2d day of August I went to sleep at Shaftesbury, which is thirty leagues. And from Shaftesbury I went to take refreshment at a village in the New Forest, called Fording Brigs, which is fifteen leagues from Shaftesbury. And from Fording Brigs I went to sleep at Southampton, which is other fifteen miles from Fording Brigs. And in this town of Southampton I arrived on the 4th day of the said month, and next day which was the 5th day I departed from Southampton because I was told that the King was in a village which is called Alton. In riding I found the Chancellor of Britanny, who at that time was called * *[1] de Montauban, a mile

28, 29 July. Return of Richmond.

1 Aug.

4, 5 Aug.

[1] Blank in original.

A.D. 1490. from the said village of Alton on the road to the town of Southampton. Which chancellor told me that the King was in the said village of Alton, and that his grace expected me there, for he had heard the news that I had arrived in the said town of Southampton. But when I arrived in the said village of Alton the King had already set off to the chase in the forest of Wilmar; in which forest I found him riding towards the village of Farnham, and there I
6 Aug. delivered my letters to him, which was on the 6th day. And after I had thus delivered my letters to him, I showed him the credentials that the marshal had given me for him. And as soon as I had shown and opened to him the commission that I had from him to the said marshal, and again from the said marshal to his grace, his said grace immediately commanded me again to get ready, for I must return to his cousin the marshal, as indeed I did. And his said grace despatched me to his said cousin the marshal within six days or thereabout after I had come to him. And this was the end of that voyage.

SECOND EMBASSY TO BRITANNY.

ANNO 1490.

A.D. 1490.

Richmond is again despatched into Britanny.

Memorandum, that the King my Sovereign Lord, Henry, the Seventh of his name, sent me again into Britanny this same year above written, on the 9th day of August, to the marshal of Britanny, that is the Seigneur de Rieux. And I was despatched by the King in his manor of Eltham, and that same day I went to sleep in London. And there I remained a day to prepare myself to go upon my voyage. And on the 12th day I departed from the said city of London, and went to sleep that day at Farnham. And next day, which was the 13th day, I went and had refreshment at Alresford, and slept in Southampton. And I was at my own house in the said town of Southampton for the space of three days. And on the 16th day of the said month I departed from my house and went to sleep at Portsmouth, where I freighted a ship of Britanny called "The Mary of Saint Pol," which cost me for my passage 8*l.* sterling; which was ready within two days after I had arrived in the said town of Portsmouth. In my company there was at this time a secretary of the duchess of Britanny whose name was Mr. Michel Le Gac, who had been sent to the King my master by the said marshal of Britanny. And we both crossed together, and left Portsmouth on the 18th day of the said month, about two hours after midnight. And the Grand Master left in the morning at dawn.

9 Aug.

12 Aug.

13 Aug.

16 Aug.

18 Aug.

A.D. 1490. And we were at sea all that day and all the night.
19 Aug. And on the 19th day in the morning at eight o'clock I arrived at Saint Pol de Leon, and went to sleep that day at Morlaix, because my horses were there. And that same day in the evening about six o'clock the Grand Master arrived before Morlaix, but he did not enter it, because he had been commanded by the King his Sovereign Lord not to enter it till he had news whether siege was laid to the town of Nantes or not; and that if the said siege was not laid that he should take to sea, and should go and try if he could find the line (?) with the company at sea; and if not, that then he should return to Morlaix, and from that should bring down with him a company of a thousand archers, which he did five or six days
20 Aug. after. On the 20th day of the said month I departed from Morlaix and went to sleep that day at Carhaix, which is seven leagues from Morlaix. And next day which was the 21st day I went to sleep at Hennebon. And there I had the news that Master Richard Woodville had been killed at Nantes by the people of Monsieur d'Albret, for which I was very sorrowful.
22 Aug. From Hennebon I departed on the 22d day, and went to sleep that day at Vannes. And there I had the news that the marshal had gone into France for a treaty of peace, at which I was much angered and displeased. From Vannes I departed on the 23d day and went to sleep at Pont Chateau, where I was very ill lodged. And from Pont Chateau I departed
24 Aug. on the 24th day and went to sleep at Nantes.

Richmond rejoins Sir Robert Clifford at Nantes; delivers his credentials to D'Albret and Madame de La Val;

And in Nantes I found Mr. Robert Clifford, who at that time had remained in Britanny as ambassador from the King, who was very glad of my arrival. And as soon as I had spoken to him, we went together to Monsieur d'Albret and Madame de Laval, to present to them the letters that I had for them, all the credence of which I opened to them. And as soon as I had

opened my credence to them, they immediately ordered one of the duchess' secretaries whom they sent to the marshal into France to give us a safe conduct for Mr. Robert Clifford and myself to go to the marshal. But before the said secretary arrived with my lord the marshal the said lord the marshal was already returned, and had left the King of France. And he was coming towards Nantes, he and all who were ambassadors with him from the duchess; who were the Prince of Orange, Monsieur de Guimine, the Grand Master of Britanny, the Attorney General, and others to the number of 200 horse. A.D. 1490.

In the said town of Nantes I waited the arrival of the said lord the marshal, who arrived in the said town on the 1st day of September, and was met on the way by several noblemen and gentlemen, knights, esquires, and other persons of condition. They went out to meet him on the way, but failed in this for he came by water; but they found the Prince of Orange and other knights in his company. And there came with the said Prince an embassy from France which had been sent with them to go to the duchess. On the 2d day of September in the morning, after mass, I presented my letters to the said lord the marshal, and entered upon [the subject of] the credence that I had towards him on the part of the King my said Sovereign Lord, in presence of Mr. Robert Clifford. With which he was very well pleased, and answered that I was very welcome, and that after dinner he would speak to me, and would inform me in presence of the said Sir [Robert] Clifford of all that he had transacted in France with the French King; however he did not do so, but next day, which was the 3d day of the said month, he sent for the said Mr. Clifford and Señor Margarit, who at that time was in the said town of Nantes as ambassador for the Kings of Spain, and for me. And there he sent to us the Grand Master of Britanny and

1 Sept.

2 Sept. and to marshal de Rieux.

3 Sept.

A.D. 1490. the Attorney General, which attorney made a declaration to us on the part of the said lord the marshal of all that he had transacted in France with the said French King. And they asked us if we would be pleased to ride with the said marshal to the Duchess to Rennes to arrange with us the answer that the Duchess should make to the said ambassadors of France; for they would not have the said Duchess make any answer without the advice of all of us who had been deputed and commissioned by the Kings our sovereign lords. And so it was agreed and concluded.

After this conclusion so taken the Prince of Orange departed for the said town of Rennes, and the said ambassadors of France in his company; and they left
5 Sept. the said town of Nantes on the 5th day of the aforesaid month. And in the space of an hour after Master James Parker and Master Samson Norton entered the said town with their company. And they were met by the way by the marshal and by Mr. Robert Clifford and other gentlemen both of the household of Mon-
8 Sept. sieur d'Albret and of the marshal. And on the 8th day the marshal departed from the city of Nantes to go to Rennes to the Duchess to give an answer to the said ambassadors of France on the subject that the said marshal had transacted in France with the said French King. And Madame de Laval also departed that same day for Rennes, and also Mr. Robert Clifford and myself, Richmond. And we rode together on the way till [we came to] Roche Bernart, a village which is eight leagues from Vannes. And there the marshal left for a castle which belongs to him, and which is six leagues from Vannes, and which is called Rochefort, and Madame de Laval also. And Mr. Clifford went to sleep at Vannes and arrived at
10 Sept. the said town of Vannes on the 10th day of the said month of September, and I, Richmond, along with him. And there we waited till we had news of the Grand

Richmond and Clifford leave for Rennes in company with the marshal;

Master of England who at that time was Sir Robert Willoughby lord Broke, who had arrived with a company of a thousand archers in the town of Morlaix. And therefore the said marshal and Master Robert Clifford and the said Richmond rode to the said town of Vannes to meet him and all his company on their way in order to speak to him; and after the said lord the marshal should have spoken to him, to bring him with him to the said town of Rennes to the duchess, in order to communicate more fully with each other there upon the said answer that should be made to the said Frenchmen. And the said Mr. Robert and the said Richmond were in the said town of Vannes for the space of four days. And then the said marshal sent for the said Sir Robert Clifford that he might go to speak to him and to meet him in a village called Auray, which is four leagues from Vannes, and the said Master Robert conducted Mr. John Norbery in his company to the said marshal. And I, Richmond, remained in the said town of Vannes, supposing that the said Master Robert was to return to sleep that same night in the said town of Vannes; but he was otherwise advised by the said lord the marshal, and rode with him to Hennebon, a small town which is ten leagues from Vannes on the way to Morlaix.

A.D. 1490.

But turn aside to Vannes to meet Lord Willoughby de Broke;

When the said Sir Robert saw that the said lord the marshal took him with himself to the said town of Hennebon, he sent me a letter in which he desired that I should meet him at the said town of Hennebon, which I did. And so I left the said town of Vannes on the 16th day of the said month, and went to sleep that night half way between the said town of Vannes and Hennebon, and I arrived in the said town of Hennebon on the 17th day of the said month. And that night we the said Mr. Robert and the said Richmond supped with the marshal. And after supper was over, the said lord the marshal conducted us upon the

16 Sept.

17 Sept.

A.D. 1490. walls of the said town, and there we had a great communication together upon the business of the commission we had on the part of the king our master.

18 Sept. Next day, which was the 18th day, at the request of the marshal, the said Mr. Robert and I, Richmond, rode to the said lord the grand master to the village of Carhaix, which is seven leagues from Morlaix, and ten leagues from the said town of Hennebon, to know from him in what place it was his pleasure that the said lord the marshal [and he] should converse together so as to have a conference, as well as some other things. And on that said 18th day we arrived so late with the said lord the grand master in the said town of Carhaix, that on that night we had not much conversation together, because the said Sir Clifford was a little indisposed. Therefore, next day, which was the 19th day, we rose very early and then we communicated together upon our business. And that day I, Richmond, parted from the grand master to go to the marshal to know from him [what] his good pleasure [was], and whether he wished that the said grand master should speak to him. And when I had thus departed I met on the road between Carhaix and Fouuet a rider who was coming from the said lord the marshal, and was riding to the said grand master to inform him that the said lord the marshal would meet him in the said village of Fauuet, which he did. And there they met on the 20th day of the said month. And after they had thus conversed together, early next morning they went together to mass in the parish church. And after mass had been said they took leave of each other, and so parted, the said grand master again for Carhaix, and the said marshal for Malétroit. For in the said town of Malétroit were the Prince of Orange and the lady de Laval, who were waiting there for the said marshal to speak together on the despatch that had been made

Whom they meet at Carhaix.

19 Sept.

20 Sept.

Meeting of the Grand Master of England and Marshal de Rieux.

to the said ambassadors of France as well as on the despatch of the said Prince, who was returning to France on the part of the Duchess, relative to the appointment which had been made between the said French King and the said Duchess. A.D. 1490.

These aforesaid persons communicated together on the 23d and 24th days of the said month, in the said town of Malétroit, and that same 24th day, after dinner, they finished their communication. And they parted immediately, the Prince and the lady de Laval for Nantes, and the marshal for Lower Britanny to go to pacify the peasants who had risen against the Duchess and also against the marshal, saying that they would no longer pay the hearth-money. The said Mr. Robert Clifford and the said Richmond departed from the said town of Malétroit in the marshal's company. And by the way they conversed together on horseback with the said marshal about all the things which at the time they had to arrange with him on the part of the King our Sovereign Lord. And we went to sleep that night at a village called Tredion which belongs to the said marshal. And next day, which was the 25th day, I, Richmond, parted from the said marshal and from Master Clifford and went to meet with the grand master, who was going to the Duchess, on the road to Rennes. And that night I went to sleep at Josselin. And there I waited the arrival of the said grand master, who arrived at Josselin on the 26th day of the said month, and there was met by Master Robert Clifford and John le Prêtre, a servant and gentleman of the marshal, who were coming to him with a message from the said marshal. 23 and 24 Sept. 25 Sept. 26 Sept.

And next day, which was the 27th day, the said Grand Master set off for Rennes, and the said Mr. Robert and John le Prêtre set off for the said marshal who had gone to Lower Britanny. And I, the said Richmond, rode with the said Grand Master on the 27 Sept.

A.D. 1490. way to the said Duchess, and we went for refreshment that day to a village called Soreat,[1] which is ten leagues from Joslin and three leagues from Rennes; and we arrived that night at Rennes; and it was fully eight o'clock at night before we arrived at the town. And the gates were kept open till we had arrived in the said town. And we were met outside the gates by the Lord de la Roche and other lords of the town to the number of forty horse.

Richmond and the Grand Master arrive at Rennes,

21 Sept. and have audience of the Duchess.

On the 21st day[2] after dinner the chancellor of Britanny came for the said lord the Grand Master and the other gentlemen in his company, and conducted him before the Duchess to speak with her. And there the said Duchess was in her chamber, seated under a dark blue and tawny cloth of gold of state with the arms of Britanny sprinkled all throughout the said cloth, and around the said arms the cord of Saint Francis, all of gold thread. And then the said Grand Master paid his respects to her, and gave her the recommendations of the King his Sovereign Lord, and she embraced him and made him rise. And there were present the lord * *[3] her uncle, and the chancellor, the old chancellor, the marshal of the empire called Pollain, at that time ambassador for the King of the Romans, and a commander of the order of Calatrava called Rogas, ambassador for the Kings of Spain, and Master Thomas Balswell, doctor in laws, ambassador from the King our master, and several lords, knights, and esquires to a great number. And at that time the Duchess was dressed in a robe of woven cloth of gold, and round her waist was a chain of gold as

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[1] Or *Foreat?*

[2] The dates in this and the next paragraph appear to be irreconcileable with the preceding ones.

[3] Blank in orig.

thick as a man's little finger, and made in the shape of a cord of Saint Francis. And she wore on her neck a thin chain of gold, put on twenty or thirty times round. And so they conversed a long time. And after this the said lord the Grand Master took his leave and returned to his house, and was conducted to his said house by the Lord de la Roche and other gentlemen to the number of fifteen or sixteen horse. Next day, which was the 22d day, and was the day of Saint Denis, the Duchess went to amuse herself in the fields on horseback, and took the said lord the Grand Master with her to amuse himself in the meadows outside of the gate. And they were there at their recreation about the space of two or three hours, and then returned. And the Grand Master conducted the duchess to her house and then returned to his own.

A.D. 1490.

22 Sept.

And next day, which was the 23d day of the said month, the said lord the Grand Master had an interview with the chancellor of Britanny and other deputies to communicate with the said Grand Master on their business. And the said interview was at the Grey Friars of the said town, and there they immediately concluded their business. And after dinner that day the said Grand Master went to take his leave of the Duchess. And next day, which was the 24th day, the said lord the Grand Master departed towards Carhaix again to pay his people their wages, and to order them how they should conduct themselves. And immediately after this was done the said Grand Master promised to the Duchess to return to the said town of Rennes to her. That same 24th day I, Richmond, took my leave of the said lord the Grand Master, and of the said chancellor of Britanny, to go to Nantes for some important matters which I had to transact with the seigneur d'Albret and others on the part of the King my master. And then the said chancellor of Britanny desired of me that I should not fail to

23 Sept.

24 Sept.

Richmond leaves for Nantes to confer with the seigneur D'Albret;

A.D. 1490. return to the Duchess, because she wished to write to the King my master by me. And I promised him to do so. And that night I went to sleep at Bain, which is six leagues from Rennes on the road to Nantes. And on the 25th day I arrived at Nantes. And there I remained till the last day of the said month. And I arrived again at Rennes, where the Duchess was, on the 1st day of October. I was with the Duchess till the 4th day of October, and on the 5th I left, and went to sleep that night at a village called * *[1] And next day I went to sleep at Vannes, and there I remained for the space of three days. And on the 10th day I went to sleep at Hennebon, and from Hennebon I went to sleep at Carhaix, and there I remained for the space of three days. And on the 14th day of the said month of October I arrived at Lancarneau, where I found the marshal and the grand master and master Clifford, and several other noble gentlemen, English, Britons, and others to the number of 1,200 persons. And there I remained with them till the 16th day of the said month. And the same day I took my leave of my said lord the marshal, [and] of the grand master, who at that time and on the same day left that town, the said lord the marshal for Quimper Corentin, and the lord the grand master for Carhaix, and Sir Robert Clifford and I for Morlaix to take our passage for England.

And returns to the Duchess, 1 Oct.

14 Oct.

16 Oct.

Presents received by him.

Item, the gifts which were given me at that time in honour of the King my master were as follows. First, from the Duchess 20 francs. Item from Madame de Laval 20 s. Item, from Señor Margarit ambassador for the Kings of Spain in the town of Nantes a robe and a doublet of black satin of a very fine black cloth at four crowns the ell, lined with a very fine

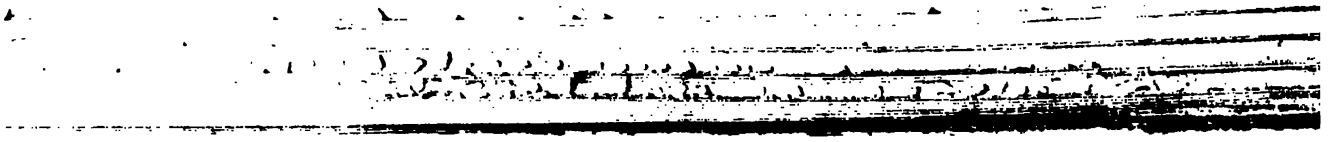
[1] Blank in original.

black damask, and reaching down to the middle of the leg. From the marshal a robe of black velvet furred with black (?)[1] and reaching to the ground. And from the grand master ten crowns of gold. And from Mr. Robert Clifford a handsome gilt war sword, for at the time he had nothing else to give me. And at that time we set out both together to go to England, and also a gentleman of the marshal, whose name was John le Prestre, and seigneur Duval, who had at the time been sent on an embassy to the King of England our master. And in the said town of Morlaix I waited for the space of[2] * * * * *. A.D. 1490.

[1] *De bougs noirs* in orig.

[2] Here the narrative breaks off abruptly.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX A.

Margaret Duchess of Burgundy's Appeal to the Pope in behalf of Perkin Warbeck.

[Ex Orig. inter Chart. Antiq. et Miscellan. in Bibliotheo. Lambethan., vol. xi.]

In nomine Domini, Amen. Per hoc præsens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat . . . . . .[1] sit notum quod [anno a[1]] Nativitate ejusdem Domini millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo quinto, indictione tertiadecima, mensis vero Maii, die octavo, hora . . . . . circiter, ante meridiem, pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri, domini Alexandri divina providentia Papæ Sexti anno tertio, me, notario et . . . . . infrascriptis, præsentibus atque rogatis, nobilis et spectabilis vir dominus Valasius Lusitaniæ Scutifer, Colimbriensis diœcesis, procurator et . . . . . illustrissimæ et clarissimæ dominæ Margaretæ de Anglia relictæ quondam inclytæ memoriæ domini Caroli Burgundiæ, Barbantiæ, Henbrigiæ, Lauenburgiæ, et Gueldriæ, etc. ducis, comitis Flandriæ, Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, Hannoniæ, Bierg' etc., domini Frisiæ, Salinarum, et Melchliniæ, habens et suis manibus . . . . quamdam provocationis appellationis ac apostolorum petitionis papyri cedulam cum nonnullis gravaminibus inibi, ut asseruit, descriptis; ad sanctissimum in Christo patrem dominum nostrum dominum Alexandrum, divina providentia papam modernum ejusque sanctam sedem apostolicam, ac illum vel illos, A.D. 1495.

[1] The dotted lines and words within brackets indicate passages illegible in the original.

A.D. 1495. ad quem vel ad quos de jure vel consuetudine provocare et appellare liceat, provocavit et appellavit, sibique apostolos tales quales de jure habere possit et debeat . . . . . et concedi ac de illis a me notario infrascripto instanter, instantius, et instantissime testimonialibus responderi, petiit et postulavit, aliasque egit et fecit prout et quemadmodum in dicta papyri cedula, cujus tenor inferius est insertus, latius continetur et habetur. De et super quibus omnibus et singulis præmissis dictus dominus Velasius procurator sibi nomine quo supra a me notario publico infrascripto fieri petiit, confici atque tradi, unum vel plura, publicum seu publica, instrumentum et instrumenta. Acta fuerunt hæc in domo inhabitationis venerabilis viri domini Nicolai Hellis, sacræ theologiæ magistri, sita Lovanii, in vico Fratrum Prædicatorum, anno, indictione, die, mense, hora, et pontificatu quibus supra, præsentibus ibidem nobili et magnifico domino Petro de Lannoy, domino temporali de Fresnoy, equite, Aurei Velleris confratre et consorte, ac venerabilibus et egregiis dominis . . . . . Fransoys, ordinis Prædicatorum Sancti Dominici, dicto Nicolao Hellis, Adriano Florentii ecclesiæ collegiatæ Sancti Petri Lovaniensi . . . . . professoribus ac magistris, et Johanne Daet, licentiato in sacra theologia, Tornacensi, Leodiensi, et Cameracensi diœcesibus, testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter atque rogatis.

Tenor vero provocationis appellationis ac apostolorum petitionis papyri cedulæ, unde supra fit mentio, sequitur et est talis.

Sicut judicium humanum nonnunquam opinioni innititur, quam fallere contingit et falli, judicium vero divinum veri facti quæ nec fallit nec falla[tur] . . . . interdum quod etiam sanctissimus dominus noster papa, licet locum Dei in terris teneat, cum tamen divinare non possit et homo humano more opinione et facti errore etiam falli possit et decipi; unde si quæ falsa verbi

insinuatione suggesta sint, qui vicarius veritatis est ad statum pristinum revocaret, et irrita, nulla, et invalida fuisse, decernere et declarare, dum casus exigit, non erubescit, et ad semitas reducere veritatis. Hinc est quod ego, Valasius Lusitanus, procurator, et eo nomine illustrissimæ et clarissimæ dominæ Margaretæ de Anglia, relictæ quondam inclytæ memoriæ Karoli Burgundiæ, Lotharingiæ Brabantiæ, Limburgiæ, et Guelriæ ducis, etc., comitis Flandriæ, Zeelandiæ, Hannoniæ, Burgundiæ, etc., domini Frisiæ, Salinarum, et Melcliniæ, animo et intentione provocandi et appellandi . . . . . his scriptis et propono, quod licet rerum dominia, imperia quoque, regna, provinciæ, civitates, castra, et loca, per quemcunque, de cujus jure aut sufficiente titulo non constet, absque manifesta nota tyrannidis invadi aut occupari minime possint seu debeant, nec hujusmodi occupatoribus seu invasoribus in præjudicium hæredum, eis ipsis non auditis aut vocatis, auctoritas seu favor cujuslibet legis opere ministrari, quinimo propter animarum et sanguinis exinde verisimiliter et multipliciter formidata pericula ante omnia provideri ut jus suum cuilibet servetur illæsum, bella et desolationes præcaveantur, et ne quis in alieno regnet regno, sed populus fidelis verum suum regem agnoscat, illique subditus sit, et ab eo pacifice gubernetur et defendatur; fueritque sic etiam ab olim in nobili regno Angliæ, exceptis nonnullis perturbationibus inibi motis et suscitatis, observatum: Nemo etiam merito debeat a sui juris prosecutione seu recuperatione, aut favore, auxilio, et assistentia, quæ pietatis actus sunt, suis parentibus, proximis cognatis, consanguineis et amicis præbendo et præstando ullatenus repelli aut prohiberi. Nihilominus tamen, quidam Henricus Aubam[1] dictus de Richemunda ex domo de Sombreset, arbitratus forte regnandi causa jus vio- A.D. 1495.

[1] Sic in Orig.

A.D. 1495. landum esse, ac prætendens se existere de sanguine Lancastriæ, cum non ignoret sese ex adulterinis amplexibus utriusque parentis . . . . prognatum, quodque domus Eboracensis in regni novissima possessione foret, postquam vi et armis, potentia et metu, ne dicam tyrannide et alienis . . . . . suffragiis, regnum ipsum invaserat et de facto occupaverat cum de jure non posset, ut præfertur, seque regem . . . . . rat et re[gni[1]] incolas, et loca regni in suam potestatem redegerat, prout nondum decem diebus elapsis ad dictæ dominæ meæ illustrissimæ . . . . . devenit notitiam, injustitiæ sibi conscius, quo magis ex Eboracensi domo regni titulo videretur suffultus, a Serenissimo Reverendissimo Innocente Papa Octavo, non suo jure, ac veritate tacita et quæ vera non sunt suggesta, proximo scilicet successionis titulo jure belli ac omnium prælatorum, procerum, magnatum, nobilium, totiusque ejusdem regni Angliæ plebis electione et voto, necnon decreto, scripto, et ordinatione, ipsiusque regni trium statuum in ipsorum conventu, parlamento nuncupato, propter hoc publice et generaliter celebrato, jus ipsius regni Angliæ ad se sub nomine Henrici Septimi, suosque hæredes ex suo corpore procreandos, indubitanter et de jure pertinere, eidemque delatum esse; ad omnes tamen discordias et dissensiones quæ olim inter illustres Eboracensem et Lancastriæ domos viguerant tollendas et imperpetuum abolendas, ac pro firma et perpetua pace in eodem regno observanda, ad præcipuam et specialem trium statuum dicti regni requisitionem assenserit Elizabetham principem Eduardi regis primogenitam et veram hæredem ducere habereque uxorem, et super impedimentis inter eos extantibus dispensare, legitimamque liberorum successionem, et etiam declarationem, pronunciationem, et decretum per-

[1] Parchment gone.

lamenti, tam super titulo regni quam supra successionem liberorum hujusmodi ejusdem Henrici, quos, dicta Elizabeth defuncta, ex alia conjuge forte procrearet; necnon omnibus et singulis dicti regni incolis et ejusdem Henrici prætensis subditis, cujuscumque status, gradus, seu conditionis existant, etiamsi ducali vel majori dignitate præfulgeant, sub excommunicationis et majoris anathematis pœna quam omnes et singuli contravenientes eo ipso incurrerent, ne ipsi aut aliquis eorum novos tumultus occasione juris succedendi, quovis quæsito colore aut quacumque alia causa, in eodem regno, per se vel alium seu alios, movere seu moveri facere, dispensationi, declarationi, et decreto hujusmodi aut paci tranquillitative ipsius Angliæ regni contraveniendo quovismodo præsumant inhiberi. Et prædicta omnia per Alexandrum Papam modernum, licet nulliter et de facto dicitur obtinuisse, his quorum interest minime ad hæc vocatis seu auditis, ac non obstante quod supersit in humanis illustrissimus dominus Ricardus, dicti quondam Eduardi regis, legitimus filius et regni paterni successor et hæres, quodque non possit aut debeat juxta regni leges et consuetudines observatas extante filio seu fratris filio, filia quovismodo succedere, quodque etiam ubi sceptrum ab Eboracensi familia deficeret (quod absit), sint in Lancastrensi domo Henrico illi longe proximiores, et qui ex his genitoribus, unde sibi jus alius competeret, legitime, non ex damnato coitu, descenderunt; ita ut in hoc regno, cujus non populi voto aut electione sed sanguinis propagatione, nec jure belli (quod sibimet adversus suum dominum et regni hæredem decernere ipse Henricus nullatenus potuit) rex dinoscitur constitui, nihil juris sibi valeat prætendere; qua etiam conscientia verisimiliter motus, licet ex matrimonio memorato regnum perpetuo pacatum iri allegaverit, male sibi fidens, censuris ecclesiasticis, justos in se maris[1]

A.D. 1495.

[1] The word *titulos* appears here to be omitted.

A.D. 1495. retinendi, quantum in eo fuit, obtinuit. Quæ quidem omnia et singula cum plerisque aliis in deductione causse latius exprimendis, si præfatis summis pontificibus expressa fuissent aut minus vere non suggesta, procul dubio nullatenus concessissent aut confirmassent concessa, quinimo dictum dominum illustrissimum Ricardum, Eduardi regis filium, in suum regnum restitui et in illius possessionem intronisari mandassent, nec debitos subditorum procerum et aliorum favores suo domino parenti et cognato exhiberi vetuissent, Joadæ magni sacerdotis exemplum sicuti, qui Joas regem cruentis aviæ manibus ereptum et clam apud amitam alitum in regnum patris restituit et seditiosæ feminæ crudele propositum justa nece prævenit. Sentiens igitur, ego, Valasius Lusitanus procurator prædictus dictam dominam meam illustrissimam, illustrissimumque dominum Ricardum, quondam regis, sui fratris filium, cum universa inclytæ domus Eboracencis familia et successoribus sibique adhærentes et adhæsuros ex præmissis et aliis ex his colligibilibus, ac inde secutis et secuturis, cum suis emergentibus, dependentibus, et connexis suis loco et tempore deducendis, ac se, in eo præsertim quod dictus Henricus in suis opinione et errore in dies magis ac pertinacius persistat, et quod ipsa cum suis adhærentibus suo nepoti auxilium, consilium, vel favorem præstare contra naturæ necessitudinem videatur prohiberi, multipliciter fore . . . . . sciens tamen bonarum mentium esse ibi culpam timere ubi culpa minime reperitur, ab omnibus et singulis dictis . . . . literis apostolicis earumque decretis et in eis contentis censuris, illarumque totis tenoribus, ... insinuationibus, executionibus earum omnium nullitate, salvis contra et adversum dictum Henricum de Sombreset, regni detentorem, suosque adhærentes et adhæsuros, inhærentibus, prioribus appellationibus pro parte dictæ dominæ illustrissimæ . . . . . ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum sanus consulen', sanctamque sedem apostolicam in his scriptis provoco et appello, apostolosque peto et

repeto, instanter, instantius, et instantissime, mihi dari, si quis hic sit qui eos mihi dare possit et velit, saltem a vobis notario publico testimoniales subjunctas dictam dominam meam sibique adhærentes et adhæsuros præfatos, ac me protectioni, defensioni, et tuitioni ejusdem Domini nostri ac Sanctæ Sedis prætactæ, ac protestans de hac mea appellatione intimanda, insinuanda, ac prosequenda loco et tempore opportunis, ... corrigendi, reformandi, minuendi, et addendi beneficio semper salvis. A.D. 1495.

Et ego, Ludovicus de Viridivalle, clericus Leodiensis diœcesis, publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius, quia appellationi, provocationi, et apostolorum petitioni, omnibusque aliis et singulis, dum sicut præmittitur agerentur et fierent, unacum prænominatis testibus præsens interfui, eaque sic fieri vidi et audivi; Idcirco hoc præsens publicum instrumentum manu alterius fideliter scriptum, exinde confeci et in hanc publicam formam redegi, signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi et subscripsi in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum præmissorum, rogatus et requisitus.

Auscultata et collationata est præsens copia per me, Danielem Riche, publicum sacra apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarium. Et concordat cum vero appellationis instrumento de verbo ad verbum, quod attestor manu propria.

Endorsed in a contemporary hand. Appellatio, provocatio, sive apostolorum petitio, illustrissimæ dominæ Margaretæ de Anglia, relictæ quondam domini Caroli Burgundiæ, Lucemburgi, Gueldriæ, etc.

APPENDIX B.

SPANISH DESPATCHES.

[*These documents are, with one exception, derived from transcripts in a modern hand in the Cottonian volume, Vitellius C. xi.*]

I. Isabella of Castile to De la Puebla.

[MS. Vitellius C. xi. f. 52.]

La Reyna.

A.D.1496? Dotor de la Puebla mi embaxador, quando me fueron dadas estas postreras cartas vuestras de xiij de Junio, vos havia mandado screvir, maravillando me de vos que en tanto tiempo, no haviessemos recebido cartas ni avises vuestros. Porende fugasse mejor daqui adelante, que gran daño trahe a la negociacion, en demas en esta concurrencia, no ser avisados de continuo del successo de las cosas.

Mi veinda aqui, como vedes, ha sido por trahera embarcar en el armada la Illustrissima Archiduquesa, mi fija, en que se ha dado tanta diligencia que al screvir de la presente, ella es ya embarcada, y la armada sta para fazer vela. Speramos, en nuestro Señor, que con su ayuda presto seran en Flandes. E por que podria ser, que por tiempo contrario, la dicha armada arrivasse en algun puerto o plaia desse Reyno, acordé de screvir al Rey de Inglaterra, la che sera con la presente traslado, de la qual vos embio. Dad zelo, y ved que querra proveer sobrello; y viendo que, con buena voluntad, lo faze como se cree que lo fara, procurareys que no solo para en

esta ida a Flandes, aportando en su Reyno la dicha armada, mas ahun para en la buena con la illustrissima princessa, nuestra fija, dende agora lo mande proveer con el cumplumiento, que de él spero que lo ha dé fazer. Y de lo que enello se feziere por este correo, levador de la presente, me dad aviso, el qual correo va en este navio que para llevaros este emboltorio he mandado fletar; y sperara al correo, fasta que vuelva despachado de vos. Luego dad forma en lo despachar con la respuesta a todo lo que se vos scrive, por que no se detenga mas del tiempo que havres menester para me responder. A.D. 1496?

Este dia me scrivió Don Pedro de Ayala; el qual y el embaxador de Scocia stavan para se embarcar, faziendo me saber como el dicho embaxador stava en mucho temor de dar en manos de Ingleses en este su viage y vuelta a Scocia; y para su seguridad me supplicava que en alguna mi carta yo lo nombrasse mi embaxador; ya[1] esta causa mandé fazer una carta de creencia, para el Rey de Inglaterra, en persona del dicho Don Pedro e suya, nombrandolos por mis embaxadores; mas screvi a Don Pedro que fuessen passados, rasgasse la dicha mi carta. Acorde de fazeros lo saber porque si la veys, sepays la causa porque se fizo. Fecha en Laredo a xvi dias de Agosto D. y. vi.[2] años.

Yo la Reyna.

Por mandado de la Reyna,

JOAN DE COLONIA.

Al Dotor de la Puebla, su embaxador y del su consejo.

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[1] Sic, qu. *para?*

[2] This date is clearly an error of the transcriber. Isabella died in 1504. Her daughter Joan left Spain for the Netherlands in August 1496 to be married to the Archduke Philip, and unless the month as well as the year be wrong, this letter must refer to that embarkation.

A.D. 1496?

(*Translation.*)

The Queen.

Doctor de la Puebla, my ambassador, when your last letters of the thirteenth of June were given me, I had commanded you to write, expressing my surprise that we should have received neither letters nor advices from you during so long a time. Strive to arrange better from henceforth, as grave inconvenience results to business, especially in this conjuncture, not being advised constantly of the progress of matters.

My coming here, as you perceive, has been by transport, to embark the most illustrious archduchess my daughter on board the fleet, for which there has been employed such diligence, that at writing of this present, she is already embarked, and the fleet is on the point of making sail. We hope in our Lord that with his help speedily they will be in Flanders. And because it may chance that through unfavorable weather the aforesaid fleet shall arrive in some port or bay of that kingdom, I am minded to write to the king of England, which will be carried with this present, by which I send to you. Be zealous and see that he be inclined to provide thereupon; and on seeing that he does so with good will, as it is thought he will do, you will endeavour not only in this departure to Flanders, [in the event of] the said fleet taking harbour in his kingdom, but likewise in regard to the fortune with the most illustrious princess our daughter, so that from this time he may give orders to provide it with what is needed, which I expect that he will do. And touching what he may do therein send me advices by the messenger, bearer of this present, which messenger goes by the ship I have ordered to be fitted out in order to send you the enclosed; and it will wait for the messenger until he return despatched by you. In despatching him with the answer, give substantive reply to all that which has

been written to you, so that he be detained no longer than you require in answering me. A.D.1496?

This day Don Pedro de Ayala has written to me, who together with the ambassador of Scotland was on the point of taking shipment; and he makes me aware how the said ambassador was in great fear of falling into the hands of the English during this his voyage and return from Scotland; and for his security he has besought me that in a despatch of mine I should name him my ambassador. I, on this account, have issued instructions to prepare a letter credential for the king of England on behalf of the said Don Pedro and him, appointing them for my ambassadors; but I have written to Don Pedro that should they have passed, he might tear up my letter aforesaid. I am minded to let you know thereof, because if you see it, you will know for what cause it was done. Dated in Laredo, the sixteenth day of August D.VI. [1496?]

I the Queen.

By order of the Queen.

JOAN DE COLONIA.

To Doctor de la Puebla, her ambassador, and of her council.

II. FERDINAND AND ISABELLA TO DE LA PUEBLA. A.D. 1501.

[MS. Vitellius, C. xi. f. 47.]

El Rey e la Reyna.

Dotor de la Puebla del nuestro consejo y nuestro embaxador, ya sabeys como, entre las cosas que estan assentadas entre nos y el Rey de Inglaterra nuestro hermano, es que dentro de doze dias despues que (plaziendo a nuestro Señor) será desembarcada en esse Reyno la princessa de Gales, nuestra fija, se han de celebrar las bodas y consumar el matrimonio entre

A.D. 1501. ella y el principe de Gales nuestro fijo. Item, que dentro de diez dias antes o despues de solemnizado el matrimonio, ha de ser dotada la dicha princessa, nuestra fija, por el Rey de Inglaterra, nuestro hermano, y por el principe de Gales nuestro fijo, en tercera parte del principado de Gales y del ducado de Cornvalla y del Condado de Cestria, dandole en buenas villas y señorias, de la tercera parte de las rentas de todo ello. Tened manera como estas dos cosas se cumplan para el tiempo que está assentado; y pues sabeys lo que os havemos escritto sobresta tercera parte y lo que en la primera capitulacion estava assentado sobrello; trabajad quanto pudieredes por que este se faga como cumple a la princessa de Gales, nuestra fija, y de manera que ella no tenga necessidad. Los cien mil escudos de la primera paga del dote llevan los dichos nuestros embaxadores para les dar a quien el dicho Rey, nuestro hermano, les dixere. Mirad que la carta de pago que dellos nos daran y el principe de Gales, nuestro fijo, tenga como es menester.

Ya sabeys como está assentado que las joyas y oro y plata que lleva la dicha princessa de Gales, nuestra fija (hasta valor de veynte mil escudos en joyas y quinze mil escudos en oro y plata) han de ser recebidos en cuenta y parte de paga del dote en la postrimera paga; y como quiero que quisieramos que se recibieran en cuenta en esta primera paga o en la segunda. Pero pues á vos, no os pareció, que se deviesse esto pedir, procurad que se pongan personas conforme a lo assentado que con juramento aprecien las dichas joyas y pessen y precien el oro y plata en la presencia de Joan de Diero, camarero de la dicha princessa de Gales, nuestra fija, que lo lleva y ha de tener todo por ella; y enbiad nos de todo ello carta de pago del dicho Rey de Inglaterra y principe de Gales, nuestro fijo, en que otorguen haverlo recebido en pago del dicho dote, para en cuenta de la postrimera paga.

Ya os havemos escrito las personas que van para quedar alla: y demas de aquellas va Pero Manrique marido de la noble dueña que va por dama de honor de la princessa de Gales nuestra fija. Dentro desta va hun memoriall de las dichas personas por el qual vereys el officio que cada uno lleva, para que lo hazeys saber al dicho Rey, nuestro hermano, y al principe de Gales, nuestro fijo. Procurad que en lo de los salarios se haga bien con ellos de manera que se puedan bien mantener con ellos; y haveos en todo ello con la diligencia y buena manera y recaudo; que de vos confiamos, trabajando que todo se haga como cumple a la princessa de Gales, nuestra fija, pues con esto acabays del todo y days buena fin y conclusion a todo lo que toca a este negocio y es cosa en que nos servireys mucho. De Granada, á xxix dias de Mayo de mil quiniento y hun años. A. D. 1501.

Yo el Rey. E la Reyna.
Por mandado del Rey. E la Reyna,
MIGUEL PEREZ D'ALMACAN.

(*Translation.*)

The King and the Queen.

Doctor de la Puebla, of our council and our ambassador, as you already know, among the points agreed on between us and the king of England our brother, is (the following), that within twelve days after the princess of Wales, our daughter, shall (if the Lord so will) have landed in that kingdom the espousals are to be celebrated and the marriage concluded between her and the prince of Wales, our son. Likewise, that within ten days before or after the solemnization of such marriage, the princess aforesaid, our daughter, has to receive in dowry from the king of England,

A.D. 1501. our brother, and the prince of Wales, our son, a third part of the principality of Wales and of the duchy of Cornwall and of the county of Chester, giving her in good townships and lordships the third part of the rents of the whole. Act in such wise that these two matters be accomplished according to time and conditions established. And since you know what we have written touching this third part, and what was in the first negotiation agreed upon, endeavour to the utmost of your power that this be done as is befitting the princess of Wales, our daughter, and in such manner that she suffer no want. The hundred thousand crowns of the first instalment of dower, let our ambassadors aforesaid retain for the purpose of remitting to whomsoever the said king our brother may name to them. Take heed that the letter of payment of the same be given to us, and let the prince of Wales hold it as is needful.

You already know how it has been settled that the jewels and gold and silver which our daughter, the princess of Wales aforesaid, takes with her, to the value of twenty thousand crowns in jewels and fifteen thousand crowns in gold and silver, are to be received on account, and as part payment of dowry in first instalment; and we still do wish them to be received on account in this first payment or in the second. Yet as it does not appear to you that this should be asked by you, endeavour to get some persons nominated, who, in accordance with the terms of agreement may, under oath, estimate the said jewels, and weigh and value the gold and silver, in presence of Joan de Diero, chamberlain of the princess of Wales, our daughter aforesaid, who accompanies and takes charge of everything for her, and send us for the whole, receipts from said king of England and the prince of Wales, our son, whereby they acknowledge to have received the same in payment of the dowry aforesaid on account of last instalment.

Already we have written to you about the persons who are going thither to remain: and besides these, there will be Pero Manrique, husband of the noble dame who goes as lady of honor to the princess of Wales, our daughter. Transmitted herewith is a list of said persons, wherefrom you will see the office which each one fills, in order to convey intimation thereof to the king our brother aforesaid, and to the prince of Wales our son. Touching the matter of remuneration, endeavour that they treat them well, in such wise that they may be enabled to maintain themselves in comfort; and in all this business act with diligence and caution; since we confide wholly in you, strive that all be done as beseems the princess of Wales, our daughter, since hereby you accomplish and give good issue and conclusion to all whatsoever pertains to this transaction; and this is a matter wherein you will render us great service. From Granada, on the 29th day of May, 1501. A.D. 1501.

I the King. And the Queen.

By order of the King and the Queen.

MIGUEL PEREZ D'ALMACAN.

III. FERDINAND AND ISABELLA to DE LA PUEBLA. A.D. 1502.

[MS. Vitellius, C. xi. f. 49.]

El Rey e la Reyna.

Doctor de la Puebla, del nuestro consejo, embaxador en Inglaterra, vimos vuestras letras en que nos fecistes saver la llegada a esse Reyno de la illustrissima princessa de Gales, nuestra fija; de que abimus [1] mucho

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[1] Sic, qu. *habimos?*

A.D. 1502. placer, porque aca nos decian tantas nuebas de su viage que estabamos con mucho cuidado por saber della. A nuestro Señor sean dadas gracias que le plugo llebarla a ese Reyno a buen salbamiento: y porque desseamos saver su llegada al Rey y a la Reyna de Inglaterra, nuestros hermanos, y al principe de Gales, nuestro fijo, y todo lo que despues ha passado, nos vos mandamos que luego nos lo hagays saver muy por menudo. Dicho nos han que se cree que el Rey de Inglaterra, nuestro hermano, no quiere consentir que Pero Manrique, el[1] marido de doña Elvira Manuell, sirba halla los oficios que de haca llevo de mayor domo mayor y camarero mayor de la dicha princesa nuestra fija; y en esto si se ficiese, el y la dicha doña Elvira recibirian verguenza y afrenta porende. Si tal cosa sintieredes, rogao de nuestra parte al Rey de Inglaterra, nuestro hermano, que no consienta que al dicho Pero Manrique se lo haga verguenza, o afrenta alguna, y que aya por bien que sirba los dichos oficios quando otra cosa no pudieredes acabar de la manera que Doña Elvira os dira. De Sevilla a seis dias de Enero de quinientos y dos años.

Yo el Rey. E la Reyna.

Por mandado del Rey. E la Reyna.

MIGUEL PERES D'ALMACAN.[2]

Al doctor De la Puebla, su embaxador en Inglaterra, y del su consejo.

(*Translation.*)

The King and the Queen.

Doctor de la Puebla, of our council, ambassador in England, we have seen your letters wherein you

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[1] *su* in MS. | [2] Delamaca in MS.

make us acquainted with the arrival in that kingdom of the most illustrious princess of Wales, our daughter, whence we derived much satisfaction, because here they told us such news of her journey that we were in great anxiety to know about her. Our Lord be thanked that it hath pleased him to guide her in perfect safety to that kingdom. And because we desire to know of her coming to the king and queen of England, our brothers, and the prince of Wales our son, and all those things which thereafter may have come to pass, we charge you to let us know the same forthwith, with minutest details. They have reported to us that it is thought the king of England our brother is not willing to consent that Pero Manrique, the husband of Doña Elvira Manuell, should hold over there the same functions which he discharged here, [as] grand steward and chamberlain of the princess aforesaid, our daughter; and in this matter if they should so act, both he and the said Doña Elvira would receive humiliation and exceeding affront thereby. If such matter should come to your knowledge, pray on our part the king of England, our brother, that he consent not that the said Pero Manrique be subjected to any humiliation or affront of any kind, and that he may think it prudent that he retain the functions aforesaid. If you are not able to accomplish this, then act according to the manner which Doña Elvira will intimate. From Seville, the sixth day of January, fifteen hundred and two. A.D. 1502.

I the King. And the Queen.

By order of the King and the Queen.

MICHAEL PEREZ D'ALMACAN.

To Dr. De la Puebla, their ambassador in England, and of their Council.

A.D. 1502. IV. FERDINAND AND ISABELLA TO DE LA PUEBLA.

[MS. Vitellius, C. xi. f. 48.]

El Rey e la Reyna.

Dotor de la Puebla, nuestro embaxador, y del nuestro consejo, despues de escritas las otras que van con esta recebimos vuestras letras de . . . . deste marco, y las del Rey de Inglaterra, nuestro hermano, que con ellas enbiastes; y porque por las otras está respondido y proveydo a lo mas de lo que vos escrivijo y vos nos escrevistes, aqui no queda que dezir sino que digays al Rey de Inglaterra, nuestro hermano, que como quiera que pero ya haviamos escrito a Don Joan Manuel, nuestro embaxador, que está con el Rey de Romanos sobre lo del Condé de Sofolque lo que vos nos haviados escrito, pero que viendo[1] lo que agora escrevistes a la misma hora, havemos despachado correo bolande a Alemaña, al dicho nuestro enbaxador, y le havemos escrito mucho mas emargadamente para que procure con el Rey de los Romanos con mucho ahynco y diligencia y como negocio nuestro proprio, que no consienta que el dicho condé este en sus terras, ni le de favor ni dinero en ninguna manera; o que lo enbie al Rey de Inglaterra, nuestro hermano, para que lo pida perdon y vuelva a su obediencia y servicio, diziendole que en este caso volviendo por medio e intercession del Rey de los Romanos, el dicho Rey de Inglaterra, nuestro hermano, le perdonara. Y dezid a el Rey de Inglaterra, nuestro hermano, que os diga si quiere que procuremos, o hagamos sobrello otra cosa, que nos lo haremos de muy buena voluntad, como si el negocio fuesse nuestro proprio, que por tal lo tenemos.

A lo que dezis de la decima y cruzada, que se cose en esse Reyno para la impresa contra del Turco, enemigo de

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[1] *vreindo*, MS.

nuestra fe, dezid al Rey, nuestro hermano, que visto el estado en que el negocio está, y la necessidad que hay de prevenir y remediar el peligro en que el Turco ha puesto y pone muchas tierras da la Cristianidad, que lo mejor seria que todas las armadas que los principes Cristianos huvieremos de enbiar para ello, estuviessen debaxo un capitan, porque assi aprovecharian mas; y que pues el cardenal y maestro de Rodas es Legado de la yglesia para aquella impresa, y es hombre de tanta experiencia y esfuerzo, y que tanto sabe en las cosas del Turco, y con tanta gana y voluntad quiere poner en ella su persona y todo lo de su orden, nos parece que a él dovriamos enbiar todas las armadas, para que desde alli con ellas y con la de la religion él guje este santo negocio y faga enello lo que mejor le pareciere. Y paraque el dinero de la dicha decima y cruzada que se cose en esse Reyno aproveche para esto, lo mejor seria que mandasse fazer con ello armada de mar, en esse su Reyno, para enbiarla a la dicha empresa, que si menester, fuere alayda y a la buelta, podra acotarse en nuestros puertos de Sicilia y Calabria y Apulla, y proveerse alli de mantenimiento. Y si, por ser lexos, parece que sera mejor enbiar el armada a Genova, donde hallara carracas, o enbiar con el prior de San Joan de Inglaterra, o con otra persona de mucha confianza el dicho dinero á Rodas, para que alli se gaste en armada para la dicha empressa, esto podra el mandar proveer como á él mas le plugniere, y mejor le pareciere; porque si assi, no si fiziesse, y lo enbiasse al papa, cierto es que gastaria en otra cosa, y no en la dicha empressa. Y dezid al dicho Rey, nuestro[1] hermano, que ahunque el año passado y este havemos tenido mucho gasto en el armada de mar, havemos mandado agora de nuevo fazer una armada de mar, y esta ya fecha y presta en los nuestros puertos A.D. 1502.

[1] *Rey, nuestro,*] Reyno, MS.

A.D. 1502. de la Apulla, para socorrer y ayudar a la defension de la Cristianidad; y por estar agora en camino, y porque presto, plaziendo a nuestro Señor, despacheremos otro correo con el qual vos responderemos a las otras cosas. No dezimos aqui, mas sino que siempre nos hagays saber las cosas de alla. De Talavera, á xix dias del mes de Abril de quinjentos y dos años.

Yo el Rey. Y la Reyna.

Por mandado del Rey. E la Reyna.

MIGUEL PEREZ D'ALMACAN.

(*Translation.*)

The King and Queen.

Doctor de la Puebla, our ambassador and of our council, after the other despatches which accompany this present were written, we received your letters of . . of that purport, and those of the king of England, our brother which you transmitted therewith; and because in previous (letters) the greater part of what I had written to you about, and respecting which you had written us, had been answered and provided for, there remains now nothing to say save that you tell the king of England our brother, that even according to the desire which he intimated, we have already written to Don Juan Manuel our ambassador who is with the king of the Romans, what we had written to you touching the affair of the earl of Suffolk, but on learning what you have now written, on the very instant have despatched post haste to Germany instructions to our ambassador aforesaid, and have written much more urgently in order that he obtain from the king of the Romans, with much earnestness and diligence, and as a matter directly concerning ourselves, that he do no longer permit the said earl to remain within his territory, nor confer upon

him favor or money in anywise; or else that he send A.D. 1502.
him to the king of England our brother, in order that he crave forgiveness and return to his allegiance and duty, representing that in case of his so returning through the intervention or intercession of the king of the Romans, the said king of England our brother will pardon him. And say to the king of England our brother to intimate that if he desire us to undertake or do in this business anything beyond what we have done we will do it with as much good will, as though it were a matter concerning ourselves, in which light we regard it.

Regarding what you tell us about the tenth and crusade-money, which is being levied in that kingdom to maintain the expedition against the Turk, the enemy of our faith, tell the king our brother that, taking into consideration the point at which the matter has arrived, and the necessity of forestalling and remedying the danger in which the Turk has placed and holds many lands of Christendom, the best thing would be that all the flotillas which we Christian princes shall join in collecting with intent to send them thither, should be under command of one captain, because thus they would prove of greater avail; and that as the cardinal and master [of] Rhodes is legate of the church for the enterprise [in question], and is a man of such great experience and so thoroughly acquainted with all matters relating to the Turk, and with so much devotedness and good will, is ready to risk both his person and the wealth of all his order, it appears to us that to him we should consign all these flotillas, in order that with their help and that of Heaven he may conduct this holy design, and may accomplish therein what may to him seem most fitted. And in order that the money from said tenth and crusade-tax now being levied in that realm may prove of most avail for that purpose, it would be best that orders should be given that with the

A.D. 1502. proceeds a flotilla be built in that kingdom itself, in order to send with the expedition aforesaid, so that, if need were, on its way and return it may find shelter in our ports of Sicily and Calabria and Apulia, and be furnished there with stores. And if, in consequence of being so far off, it seem more advantageous to send this flotilla to Genoa, where it may find boats or to send by the prior of Saint John of England, or other person of great trust, the aforesaid money to Rhodes, in order that it may there be expended upon a flotilla for the expedition aforesaid, he can order it to be supplied with stores in the way which may please him most or may to him seem best; for if this is not acted upon, and they should send it (the money) to the pope, it is certain that he would expend it for some other purpose, and not on account of the said expedition. And tell the king aforesaid, our brother, that although the past year and the present we have had great expenses in our fleet, we have just given orders anew for another fleet, which is already built and prepared in our ports of Apulia, in order to aid and assist in the defence of Christendom; and on account of our now being on a journey that we shall speedily, our Lord so willing, despatch another courier, by whom we shall give answer to the other matters. We do not say anything more here save that you [should] always acquaint us with [the state of] matters over there. From Talavera on the nineteenth day of the month of April fifteen hundred and two.

I the King. And the Queen.

By order of the King. And the Queen.

MICHAEL PEREZ D'ALMACAN.

V. Ferdinand the Catholic to Henry VII. A.D. 1504.

[MS. Vespasian, C. xii. f. 233, Orig.]

Muy esclarecido Rey, nuestro muy caro y muy amado hermano, Nos el Rey de Aragon, de las dos Sicilias, &c., Administrador y Governador de los Reynos de Castilla, de Leon, y de Granada, &c., por la Serenissima Reyna, Doña Juana, nuestra muy cara y muy amada fija, Vos embiamos mucho a saludar como aquel que mucho amamos y preciamos, y para quien querriamos que Dios diesse tanta vida, salud, y honrra quanta vos mismo desseays. Oy dia de la fecha desta, ha plazido a nuestro Señor llevar, para si, a la Serenissima Reyna Doña Isabel, nuestra muy cara y muy amada muger. Y ahunque su muerte es para nos el mayor trabajo que en esta vida nos podia venir, por que perdimos la mayor y mas excelente muger que nunca Rey tuvo. Y por una parte el dolor de ella nos atraviesa las entrañas; y no dudamos que vos, como hermano, a quien ella tanto quiso y nos tanto amamos, sentireys la perdida de su real persona y nuestro trabajo. Pero por otra parte, viendo que ella murió tam santa y catholicamente como bivió, de que es de esperar que nuestro Señor la tiene en su gloria, que es mejor y mas perpetuo Reyno que los que aqua tenia, esto nos da mucha consolacion. Y pues a nuestro Señor assi le plugo, conformamonos con su voluntad y damosle gracias por todo lo que faze, como es razon. La dicha Serenissima Reyna, nuestra muger, que santa gloria haya, dexo ordenado por su testamento que fuessemos nos administrador y governador destos Reynos de Castilla, de Leon, y de Granada, &c., como lo somos por la Serenissima Reyna Doña Juana, nuestra fija. Y porque de los negocios escrevimos al Doctor de la Puebla, nuestro embaxador, que con vos esta; afectuosamente vos rogamos le dedes entera fe y creencia. Muy esclarescido Rey, nuestro muy caro y

A.D. 1504. muy amado hermano, nuestro Señor, todos tiempos, vos haya en su especial guarda y recomienda. De la villa de Medina del Campo, a xxvi dias del mes de Noviembre de mil y quinientos y quatro.

Yo el Rey.

ALMACAN, SECT^US.

Al Muy esclarecido Rey de Inglaterra, nuestro muy caro y muy amado hermano.

(*Translation.*)

Most illustrious king, our most dearly beloved brother, We, the King of Aragon, of the Two Sicilies, &c., Administrator and Governor of the kingdoms of Castile, of Leon, and of Granada, &c., for the most Serene Queen, Doña Juana, our very dear and very beloved daughter, send to salute you most cordially as one whom we love and esteem very highly, and to whom we beseech that God will vouchsafe as long life, health, and honor as you yourself desire. This very day it hath pleased our Lord to take to himself to his most blessed kingdom Queen Doña Isabel, our very dear and most beloved wife. And yet her death is for us the deepest grief that could happen to us in this life, because we have lost the best and most excellent wife that king ever had. And on the one hand the grief for her pierces our heart and we doubt not that you as a brother, whom she so much cherished, and we so much love, will feel the loss of her royal person and our deep sorrow; yet when we consider, on the other hand, that she died as holy and catholic as she lived, whence we hope that our Lord has her in his glory, which is a better and more lasting kingdom than those she held here, this gives us much consolation. And since it has thus pleased our Lord, we conform ourselves to his will and give him thanks for all that he does, as is right. The said most

serene queen our wife, whom the sacred glory holds, A.D. 1504.
ordained by her will that we should be administrator and governor of these kingdoms of Castile, Leon, and Granada, &c., as we are for the most serene queen Doña Juana our daughter. And because concerning those matters of business we have written to Doctor De la Puebla our ambassador who is with you, we affectionately beseech you that you grant him entire confidence and credence. Most illustrious king, our dearest and most beloved brother, may our Lord have you at all times in his special keeping and guardianship. From the city of Medina del Campo on the 26th day of the month of November, one thousand five hundred and four.

I the King.

ALMACAN, Sect^{us}.

To the Most Illustrious King of England, our most dearly beloved brother.

VI. FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC TO DE LA PUEBLA. A.D. 1505.

[MS. Vitellius, C. xi. f. 49 b.]

El Rey.

Doctor de la Puebla, del mi consejo en Inglaterra, despues que a los seys de Mayo os escrevi desde Arevalo, por duplicadas letras, recebi duplicadas las vuestras del primero y de xxj de Abril, y las del Rey de Inglaterra, mi hermano, y de la princesa de Gales mi fija, y el testimonio del Austo del Desporio que se fizo por palabras de presente entrello y el principe de Gales, mi fijo, y la carta sobre lo dellos navios, y la escritura de la nueva y mas estrecha amistad que alla querrian, y los traslados de letras del Rey Archiduque que embiastes; y tengo vos en servicio el cuydado y buena diligencia que haveis puesto y poneys

A.D. 1505. en fazer me saber todo lo de alla, y en haverme embiado las dichas letras y escrituras. Y como a los seys os escrevi, yo he havido mucho plazer de saber que se fizo el dicho Desporio por palabras de presente con tanta solennidad, y de la manera que dezis; y escrivo al dicho Rey, mi hermano, respondiendole a ello, a las otras cosas en Latin, como vereys. Dad le mis cartas; y quanto a esto del casamiento dezidle de mi parte quanto plazer he havido dello, y que assi espero que quando tenga el tiempo, se velaran, y casaran, y consumaran su matrimonio, el principe y la princesa de Gales, mis fijos; y que lo del dote que queda por pagar, se cumplira para el tiempo, de la manera que esta asentado. Mas porque, como sabeys, la dicha princesa, mi fija, llevo consigo que le dimos para en cuenta de la dote, oro y plata y joyas, en valor de treynta y cinco mil escudos de oro; y destos no nos dió de pago el Rey de Inglaterra, mi hermano, porque como se havian de recebido en cuenta en las postreras, se esperava que entonces, se sacaria la dicha carta de pago: avisad a la princesa, mi fija, que faga tener a buen recaudo todo el dicho oro y plata y joyas, como de aqua lo llevo, sin que falte cosa dello; porque lo han de apreciar y dar por recebido en valor treynta y cinco mil escudos de oro en cuenta de su dote; y que lo suso dicho que llevó, quedó todo aqua assentado por memoria in los libros, y alla assi mismo, de manera que por alli, han de dar cuenta dello, las personas que lo tienen acargo, fasta que, como dicho, es sea recebido en pago de la dote, como esta asentado. Y fablad sobresto tan bien a Doña Elvira, paraque en ello hay muy buen recaudo, como es razon; y lo demas que son sesenta y cinco mil escudos yo los mandare cumplir de aqua, para quando sea tiempo, que sera quando el principe de Gales mi fijo havra quinze años complidos. Y fazed me saber lo cierto para quando los cumplira, si pluguiere a nuestro Señor; porque para entonces se

provea de enbiar a Londres los dichos sesenta y cinco mil escudos de oro. A.D. 1505.

A lo de los acostamientos de Doña Elvira y Pero Manrique, y de los otros criados de la princesa, mi fija, que dezis que responde el Rey de Inglaterra, mi hermano, que si se dexa a su cargo de él; e de quien él mandare el cargo del gasto y proveymiento de la casa y servidores de la princesa, mi fija, que él proveera copiosamente lo que fuere menester para la dicha princesa, mi fija, para su casa; y que en lo destos acostamientos, lo fara onesta y competentemente. Direys de mi parte a la princesa, mi fija, que me parece que en todas las cosas deve estar muy conforme y en mucho acatamiento y obedienzia del Rey de Inglaterra, mi hermano, su padre, como creo que lo faze; porque, demas de ser está la razon, assi la amara mas y fara mas por ella. Y que pues placiendo a nuestro Señor, cosa es que ha de ser para siempre su tierra, y en ella y con el Rey de Inglaterra, mi hermano, su padre, y con el principe de Gales, mi fijo, su marido, ha de fazer su vida; y pues el gasto della y de su casa, y de los salarios de los suyos, esta y ha de estar siempre á cargo del dicho Rey de Inglaterra, mi hermano, su padre, que me parece que deve trabajar que todo lo de su casa y de los suyos se faga y asiente a voluntad y consentamiento del Rey de Inglaterra, mi hermano; porque assi el cumplira enteramente; y es de creer que mirara en ello a la honrra suya, y de la princesa, mi fija, y a su descanso y a la princesa, mi fija, si viene bien que se asiente, de una vez para siempre, por salir desta cuidado. Platicad con ella sobrello; y assi mismo platicad en ello vos y Doña Elvira con la dicha princessa, mi fija; y despues que tengays concertado con ella, lo que conveniere fazerse vos o Doña Elvira, trabajad que el Rey de Inglaterra, mi hermano, lo faga y asiente, de la manera que parecera a la dicha princessa, mi fija, y como lo concertades con ella que lo que ella quisiere

A.D. 1505. en esto caso, aquello havré yo por bien, que se faga sin que mas lo consulteys comigo; y fazed me saber lo que en ello se fiziere. De Segovia, a xxii dias del mes de Juino de quinientos y cinco años.

Yo el Rey.

ALMACAN, Sect^us^.

Al Doctor de la Puebla, del su consejo, y su embaxador en Inglaterra.

(*Translation.*)

The King.

Doctor de la Puebla, of my council in England, after I wrote to you on the sixth of May from Arevalo by letters duplicate, I received in duplicate yours of the first and twenty-first of April, and those of the king of England my brother, and of the princess of Wales my daughter, and the declaration of Austo del Desporio, which was made verbally in person between him and the prince of Wales my son, and the letter referring to the matter of the ships, and the advice touching the new and more intimate alliance which they wish there [established], and the translation of the letters of the king archduke which you have transmitted; and I hold as a service the solicitude and diligence which you have taken and do take in keeping me acquainted with all that is going forward there, and in having sent me the said letters and despatches. And, as on the sixth I wrote to you, I have had much pleasure in learning that the aforesaid Desporio made orally [the declaration] with so great solemnity, and after the manner you relate; and I write to the king aforesaid, my brother, giving answer to him thereupon [and] to the other matters in Latin, as you will perceive. Give him my letters; and concerning the question of the marriage, tell him on my part how great pleasure I have had thereat, and that hence I hope

that when the time shall have arrived they will receive the nuptial blessing, be wedded and consummate their marriage, the prince and princess of Wales my children; and that with respect to the portion of the dowry which remains to be paid, it will be completed in time according to the manner agreed. But because, as you are aware, the princess aforesaid, my daughter, took with her what we gave her on account of the dowry, gold and silver and jewels to the value of thirty-five thousand crowns of gold; and for these the king of England, my brother, has not tendered receipt, because as they had to be reckoned in at last [payment] it was hoped that then said receipt for payment would be procured: remind the princess, my daughter, that she cause all the aforesaid gold and silver and jewels to be very safely kept, as from here she took them, so that none of them may be lost; for they have to be estimated and admitted as received to the value of thirty-five thousand crowns of gold on account of her dowry; and that the above-mentioned which she took away has remained all registered here in the books, and there likewise, so that over there, those persons who hold it in charge must render account thereof until it be received in payment of the dowry as has been arranged. And talk thereupon with Doña Elvira as well, because regarding this there should be great caution, as is right; and the remainder, which amounts to sixty-five thousand crowns, I will give orders to pay up here in due time, which will be when the prince of Wales my son shall be fifteen years complete. And let me know for certain when he shall have completed the term, if it please our Lord; because by that time endeavour shall be made to send to London the said sixty-five thousand crowns of gold. A.D. 1505.

Concerning the expenses of Doña Elvira and Pero Manrique, and of the other attendants of the princess my daughter, say what the king of England, my brother, answers as to whether they remain entirely at his

A.D. 1505. charge. And whomsoever he shall entrust with the charge of expenses, as well as with providing for the establishment and attendants of the princess my daughter, let him provide abundantly what is necessary for the said princess my daughter for her household; and that in regard to the expenditure, it be done becomingly and competently. You will say on my part to the princess my daughter, that it seems to me, she should in all things prove submissive, and in much respectfulness and obedience to the king of England, my brother, her father, as I believe she does; for, that besides this being a matter of course, he thus will love her more and will do more for her. And since it pleaseth our Lord, that it (England) is always to be her country, and in it she has to pass her life, both with the king of England, my brother, her father, and with the prince of Wales her husband; and since her personal expenditure and that of her establishment, and the remuneration of her attendants, are and have to be always at the charge of the said king of England, my brother, her father, it seems to me she ought to endeavour that what concerns her establishment and her dependants should be done and ordered with the will and consent of the king of England, my brother; because thus he will comply fully, and one may trust that he will therein respect his own honor and that of the princess my daughter, as well as his own peace of mind and that of the princess my daughter, if it so happens, that he agree, once for all, in order to be rid of this anxiety. Converse with her thereupon, and at the same time moot the matter together, you and Doña Elvira with the said princess my daughter; and after you shall have come to an agreement with her touching what you or Doña Elvira should do, strive that the king of England, my brother, do act and agree after the manner which shall seem good to the said princess my daughter and as you shall have concerted the matter with her, so

that what she shall desire in this business that shall I esteem right to be done without your consulting further with me; but make me acquainted with what may be done in the matter. From Segovia, on the twenty-second day of the month of June, fifteen hundred and five. A.D. 1505.

I the King.

ALMACAN, Secretary.

To Doctor de la Puebla, of his council, and his ambassador in England.

VII. FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC TO DE LA PUEBLA. A.D. 1507.

[MS. Vitellius, C. xi. f. 53.]

Doctor de la Puebla, mi embaxador, y del mi consejo, Vi vuestras letras de xv de Abril, y las del serenissimo Rey de Inglaterra, mi muy caro y muy amado hermano, que con ellas me embiastes. Con las quales buenas nuevas que por ellas me escrevistes de su salud y prosperidad, have mucho plazer; porque naturalmente amo mucho y fuelgo de su bien como del mio proprio. Yo vos ruego que por mi plazer y descanso, me fagais saber siempre de sus buenas nuevas, porque no creo que ay principe en el mundo que tanto fuelgue con ellas como yo.

Quanto a la prorrogacion de la paga de la dote de la illustrissima princessa de Gales, mi fija, que el dicho serenissimo Rey, mi hermano, me ha otorgado, dezidle, de mi parte, que me ha parecido muy bien y que lo[1] agradesco mucho, y que fuelgo de ver, que en esto y en todo parece, el amor que me tiene; y que en siendo en Castilla, plaziendo a nuestro Señor, yo trabajare de embiar el cumplimento de la dicha dote con tanta diligencia, como si la dicha prorogacion no fuera otorgada; y por que con la persona que de

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[1] *gelo* in MS.

A.D. 1507. solo Castilla llevara el dinero de la dicha dote, plaziendo a nuestro Señor, vos escrivere todo lo mas que toca a este articulo, no digo aqui mas sobrello.

En lo del casamiento del Rey de Inglaterra, mi hermano, &c.

Con la presente vos embio mi respuesta a las cartas del dicho serenissimo Rey de Inglaterra, mi hermano, en fin de la qual va creencia revistida a la dicha illustrissima princessa de Gales, mi fija; y a vos, por virtud de la qual le direys todo lo contenido en la presente; y la dicha illustrissima princessa, mi fija, te dira lo que le escrivo que es en esta misma sentencia a XVIIII.[1] de Mayo de MDVII.

ALMACAN, Sect^us.

Al Doctor da la Puebla, del su consejo, y su embaxador en Inglaterra.

(*Translation.*)

Doctor de la Puebla, my ambassador, and of my council, I have seen your letters of the 15th of April, and those of the most serene king of England, my most dear and well-beloved brother, which you sent me along with them. From such good news as by them you wrote me concerning his health and prosperity, I have had much pleasure; for I naturally love and cherish his welfare even as my own. I pray you that for my satisfaction and repose you will always make me acquainted with his good tidings, for I think there is not in the world a prince who is so much comforted by them as I.

As to the postponement of the payment of the dowry of the most illustrious princess of Wales, my daughter, which the aforesaid most serene king, my brother, has

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[1] Sic, qu. XVIII.?

granted to me, tell him, on my part, that it hath seemed very good, and I am very grateful for it; and that I like to perceive herein and in all things the love which he has for me; and that on arriving in Castile, our Lord willing, I will strive to remit the remainder of the aforesaid dowry with as great diligence as though the respite aforesaid had not been granted; and because by the person who from Castile alone will take the money of said dowry, our Lord willing, I will write you what more especially concerns this particular, I say no more thereupon here. A.D. 1507.

In respect to the marriage of the king of England, my brother, &c.

With this present I send you my answer to the letters of the said most serene king of England, my brother, at the end whereof goes a letter of advice for the said most illustrious princess of Wales, my daughter; and for you, by virtue whereof you will tell her all the contents of this present; and the aforesaid most illustrious princess my daughter will tell you what I have written her, which is after this same tenor. On the 18th (?) of May, MDVII.

ALMACAN, Sect^us^.

To Doctor de la Puebla, of his council, and his ambassador in England.

VIII. FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC TO DE LA PUEBLA.

[MS. Vitellius, C. xi. f. 51.]

El Rey.

Doctor de la Puebla, mi embaxador, y del mi consejo, por la otra mia que va con esta, vos escrivo lo que ha passado en este mi viage fasta oy, fecha de la presente, que me desembarque en esta ciudad. Lo que de mas de aquello me occurre agora, es, que ya vos sabeys, como antes que yo partiesse de Napoles, el

A.D. 1507. serenissimo Rey de Inglaterra mi hermano me prorroga la paga de la dote de la illustrissima princessa de Gales, mi fija, por tiempo de seis meses, el qual tiempo creo que se acabara el mes di Setiembre, que primero viene[1]; y segun la dicha prorogacion en el dicho mes de Setiembre, havia de estar ya el dinero de la dicha dote en Inglaterra. Y la verdad es, que quando el dicho serenissimo Rey, mi hermano, me embió la dicha prorogacion, yo crey que pudiera partir antes de Napoles, y que llegara a Castilla a tiempo que haviera lugar de embiar a Inglaterra el dinero de la dicha dote, dentro del termino de la dicha prorogacion; y fueron tantos y tan arduos los negocios que alli se me ofrecieron que no me fue possible poder partir antes del tiempo que parti; y como en estas mares de aca en todo este verano jamas a hecho tiempo assentado in un solo dia entero, que de una hora a otra sechan mundado[2] siempre los vientos y el tiempo, y como uniendo como unie por la costa de puerto en puerto por mayor seguridad no navegara sino en dias y con tiempo que no fuesse peligrosa la navigacion. A esta causa nos ha sido necessario de tenernos en el comino por los puertos los dias que no heran para navigar; y este es lo que ha fecho tardar tanto nuestro viage. Pero pues, a Dios gracias, havemos llegado aqui buenos y con salvo todo, es bien empleado, y como por la otra, digo la serenissima Reyna de Castilla, mi fija, y todos los de sus veinos[3] me dan grandissima priessa que yo vaya luego adonde ella está, y como quiera que me desseo fuera de partir para alla esta misma dia que aqui llegue. Pero segun las cosas que de necessidad me conviene proveer aqui antes de mi partida, no creo que me sera passible poder partir de aqui para Castilla fasta veynte de Agosto a lo mas corto; y para el

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[1] *verna* in MS.

[2] Sic, qu. *se han mudado?*

[3] Sic, qu. *vecinos?*

camino, fasta llegar ajuntarme con la dicha serenissima Reyna, mi fija, o al mismo tiempo que llegare sera passado el termino de la dicha prorogacion y no havra lugar para embiar el dinero de la dicha dote a Inglaterra dentro del dicho termino. Y como los vientos y tiempos de la mar, que tanto han dilatado mi llegada aqui, no estan en manos de los hombres, bien conocera el dicho serenissimo Rey, mi hermano, que no es mi culpa si dentro de los dichos seys meses de la dicha prorogacion no se puede embiar el dinero de la dicha dote. Porque siempre escrivi que fasta ser yo junto con la serenissima Reyna, mi fija, no seria possible embiarse el dicho dinero. Pero, mediante nuestro Señor, yo entiendo de ser con la dicha serenissima Reyna, mi fija, al mas largo, por todo el dicho mes de Setiembre, que primero viene,[1] y luego en siendo con ella; entendere en proveer que se embie el dinero de la dicha dote; y le fare saber de los otros negocios, lo que occuriere. Dezid lo todo de mi parte al dicho serenissimo Rey, mi hermano; y pues vee quan justas causas ay para ello, yo le ruego afectuosamente que el quiera prorogar el tiempo de la paga de la dicha dote otros seys meses, a lo menos; y que sobre ello me embie su carta en que assi lo diga; y que no embargante la dicha prorogacion que pido, y sin esperar agozar de todo el tiempo della, luego en llegando yo a la dicha serenissima Reyna, mi fija, proveere a toda diligencia, como he dicho que se embie el dinero de la dicha dote. Por que es cosa que cierto yo desseo mucho ver la complida, y vos me escrivereys mucho en procurar y embiar me luego la dicha prorogacion, y assi mismo en facer me saber de las buenas nuevas del dicho serenissimo Rey, mi hermano, y de los illustrissimos principes y princessa de Gales, mis fijos. Y

A.D. 1507.

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[1] *verna* in MS.

A.D. 1507. trabajad de despachar luego este correo que no va per otra cosa, y su vuelta ha de ser a Castilla, donde yo entonces estare, mediante nuestro Señor. De la ciudad de Valencia, a 20 dias del mes de Julio, año de mil y quinientos y siete.

Yo el Rey.

ALMACAN, Sect^us^.

Al Doctor de la Puebla, del su consejo, y embaxador en Inglaterra.

(*Translation.*)

The King.

Doctor Puebla, my ambassador and of my council, by my other [despatch] which accompanies this present, I write you what hath happened in this my journey until to day, the date of this present, when I disembarked in this city. That which principally occurs to me now is, as you already know, how before my departure from Naples, the most serene king of England my brother held over the payment of the dowry of the most illustrious princess of Wales, my daughter for the time of six months, which time will I believe be completed in the month of September which next ensues; and according to the aforesaid extension to the month of September aforesaid, the money of said dowry was to be in England already. And the truth is that when the said most serene king of England, my brother, sent me this extension aforesaid, I was of opinion that I should be able to leave Naples sooner, and should arrive in Castile in time to allow of sending to England the money of the dowry aforesaid within the term of said extension; but so various and arduous were the matters which there presented, that it was not possible for me to leave before I did leave; and as within these seas during this spring-time the weather has never been

for one entire day settled, so that from one hour to another the winds and weather have been always changing, and, as it were, uniting, so that it was understood from port to port along the coast, that for greater safety no one should put to sea except on such days and with such weather as navigation was not dangerous. On that account it has been utterly useless to journey towards the ports during the days which were unfit for sailing; and this it is which has so much delayed our voyage. However, since, thanks to God, we have arrived here prosperously and in all safety, all is well. And in regard to that other, I mean the most serene queen of Castile my daughter, and all those of her affinity, they urge me with great earnestness that I should go forthwith where she is sojourning, and that I should besides leave for that place the very day that I have arrived here; but in consideration of those matters which it is, of necessity, becoming that I provide here before my departure, I do not think it will be possible to leave here for Castile until the twentieth of August, at the earliest; and for that journey until I join the aforesaid most serene queen my daughter, or by the time I shall arrive, the term of extension aforesaid will have gone by, and there will be no means of transmitting the said dowry to England within the said term. And as the winds and weather on the sea, which have so greatly retarded my arrival here, are not in the hands of man, the said most serene king, my brother, will readily know that it is not by fault of mine if within the six months aforesaid of the said respite the money of said dowry could not be sent. For I always wrote that until I should join the most serene queen my daughter, it would not be possible for the said money to be transmitted. However, with the help of our Lord, I intend to be with the said most serene queen, my daughter, at the latest for the whole month of September aforesaid, next ensuing; and forthwith,

A.D. 1507.

A.D. 1507. upon being with her, shall take measures about providing that the money of said dowry be sent; and I will make known, touching the other matters, whatever may occur. Tell all this, on my part, to the aforesaid most serene king my brother; and since he sees how just reasons there are for it, I pray him kindly that he will extend the time of payment of said dowry, other six months at the least, and upon this send me his letter to tell me so; and that notwithstanding the said extension which I ask for, and without hoping to exhaust the time of the same, immediately upon my reaching the said most serene queen my daughter, I will provide in all haste, as I have mentioned, so that the money of said dowry may be sent. For it is a thing that assuredly I desire greatly to see accomplished; and you will write me fully in procuring and sending me forthwith the aforesaid respite, and likewise by the same occasion letting me know the good tidings of the said most serene king my brother, and of the most illustrious princes and princess of Wales my children. And try to despatch forthwith this courier, who does not go for any other purpose, and his return must be to Castile, where I shall then be sojourning, our Lord permitting. From the city of Valencia, on the twentieth of the month of July fifteen hundred and seven.

I the King.

ALMACAN, Sect^y.

To Doctor de la Puebla, of his council, and ambassador in England.

APPENDIX C.

JOHN STILE TO HENRY VII.

[MS. Cott. Vesp. C. i. f. 36.]

[*The following despatch, written in cipher on the 26th April* 1509, *in ignorance of the death of Henry VII., to whom it is addressed, was transcribed for Mr. Brewer's forthcoming Catalogue of the State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII., and I am kindly permitted to insert it here. It will be found full of interest as illustrative of the effects of Henry the Seventh's policy in Spain. In the beginning of the document some words are lost in each line of the original owing to the right-hand margin being mutilated.*]

MOST excelent soverayn lord, Plesythe your hyȝghnys A.D. 1509.
for to understand that on the sevyn . . . . . the sevyntyn dayes of the monythe of Marche that last past y recevyd yowr nobyl le[tters]. . . . . datys of the last day of Jenyver and of the thryd day of February as by other syx m . . . . . fore thys y have certefyed unto yowr hyȝghnys and of the answer of the kynge of Ar[ragon] . . . . . receyte of yowr sayd nobyl letters and the causys to hys hyȝghnys by me declary[d] . . . . . acordeyng to your hyghe commandament to me by your sayd most parfyteys[t] . . . answer, and hyt plese your grace was that the kyngys sayeing was that he was joyus . . . . . understand of your prossperus welfare, and that your hyȝghnys ysso

A.D. 1509. inter . . . . perfecschyon of the maryage by twyxt my lord the prynce your nobyllyst son . . . . . prynces hys douȝghter. Of other maters the kynge spake tucheyng the dote o[f] . . . . . and of other thyngys as by everyche of my sayd syx letters at lengythe I ha[ve] . . . . . certyfycathe unto your hyȝghnys and that fynalli the sayd kyngys answer was that . . . . . wythe delygence he wold send hys other ambassatwrs unto your hyȝghnys, the whyche . . . . . suche that schwld gladly intend for to conserve and augement amyte by twyxt yowr . . . . . and hym; the whych answer, and hyt plese your grace, the kynge made unto me by the twelthe . . . . of the said monythe of Marche; sythe the whyche tyme hys hyȝghnys hathe byn so ocupyed . . . . other mate[rs] and wythe thys holi tyme of Ester that the nameynge of suche as that schuld be sent unto yowr hyȝghnys for ambassatwr hathe byn deferryd, notwythstandeyng that I dyverse tymes and mani sythe the sayd twelfthe day of Marche have solucytyd unto the kynge and unto hys secretary Almasan and to the bysschop of Canarya that the sayd ambassatwr myȝghte be namyd and wythe delygens sent towardys your hyȝghnys.

[And [1]] hyt plese your grace as for the bysschop don Pedro Ayala was not yn the corte wythe the kyng . . . . . syx wekys or more, nor cam not forthe of hys logeynge excepte in the Paschyon weke, that he went unto a relegeus hows of Frerys whyche ys here yn thys towne, for the syd don Pedro ys contenwally dyseasyd and another. And yt plese your grace, the kynge of Aragon lovythe the sayd don Pedro wel, as that he hathe a good cause, for the sayd don Pedro dyd unto hys hyȝghnys yn the kyngys beynge yn Napulys and for hys returneynge unto Castyl best

[1] Paper gone.

servyse of any oon man yn Castyl, for he turnyd the cardynal of Toledo and the cundestabyl of Castyl and mani moo for to take the kynge of Aragons parte, other wyse the sayd kyng had not so sone have returnyd in to Castyl. Howebe that nowe, and hyt plese your grace, that the kynge hathe the said cardynal and al thyngys here at hys conmandament and plesure, the sayd byschopp do[n Pe]dro ys not so muche callyd to counsayle as that he hathe byn yn tymys past; for the bysschop of Palencya and other that be grete rulers aboute the kynge have a secrete envy unto the sayd don Pedro. For the sayd bysschop of Palencya had trustyd for to have byn cardynal, and don Pedro causyd the archebysschop of Toledo for to have that dyngnyte by cause that he schuld bere . . . . favor unto the kyng of Aragon. A.D. 1509.

And verely, and hyt plese yowr grace, the said don Pedro s . . . . . s . . . . . not to be plesyd wythe the kynge hys lord nor wythe the secretary Almasan that they do deferre the tyme yn the nameynge and sendeynge of the ambassatwr from hens towardys yowr hyȝ[ghnys], and that the said mater ys non otherwyse regardeyd; for, and hyt plese your grace, sythe the sayd twelthe day of March the kynge hathe ordeynyd and sent from hens another ambassatwr unto the Freynsche king . . . , the whych ambassatwr ys an Aragones of the cety of Valencya, a conmendador of the o[rder of Saynt] Jamys, and Mossen Jayme de Albyon, the whyche was ambassatur for the kynge of [Ar]ag[on] . . . . France schal come home ambassatwrs of France. And hyt plese yowr grace . . . . . hyt is sayed that there ys an ambassatur of France comeynge hethe[r . . . . . An]d hyt ple your grace after my pore mynd that the kynge of Aragon hathe and dothe deferre the [ty]me of the nameynge and the sendeynge of hys ambassators unto your hiȝghnys for twoo causys. [Oo]n was unto suche tyme that

A.D. 1509. he had tydeyngys and letters from the conmendador Delamem[bre]lya hys ambassatur and another that for as muche as that the qwyn of Aragon ys so nyȝ[ghe] . . . . . the tyme of her delyverrance of chyld for to be by al thys monythe of Apryel as hyt is [say]d; for the whyche, and hyt plese yowr grace, that after the good stede or fortune that [the say]d qwyn schal have yn hyr delyverance the kynge wyl order hym self yn all hys thyn . . . . . causys. For in case that the sayd qwyn spede wel and be delyverd of a prynce here . . . . . be made grete tryumfe and the kynge then wyl exalte hym self the more yn al hys faus (?) . . . . in case that the qwyn schal fortune for to have a dowȝghter the fryndys of the prynce [of Cas]tyl wylbe glad, for that sche maye not enheryte the reames of Aragon nor Napuls. Howe . . . [an]d hyt plese yowr grace the sayeyng of the Aragonesys ys that yn case that hyt schalbe . . . . . ter that sche schalbe maryed unto the kyng of Castylys secund son and have al . . . . whyche and yt plese yowr grace ys but a comune sayeynge of thys cortyers and not . . . schuld so be myndyd by the kynge of Aragon. And in case that the qwyn of Aragon schal fortune for to myscary and decese in thys hyr delyverance, suerely, and hyt plese yo[wr] grace, the kynge of Aragon schuld be gretely abateyd fereynge to lese hys amyte wythe France whyche he exstemythe above al the warld, and then he wylbe the gladder for to indevor hym selfe for to have the amyte of your hyȝghnys. So, and hyt plese your grace, the afecte of the sayd mater tucheyng the qwyn of Aragons delyverance and spede sch[al] here be schortly knowen. And as to the tydeyngys that the kynge lokyd for from yowr reame of Yngeland, and hyt plese your grace, that on the fowrythe day of thys monythe of Apryel cam hether John de Scotya, mylady the prynces servant

wyth letters from myss[ayd] lady oonly unto the kynge hyr fader and unto the secretary Almasan. A.D. 1509.

Where and hyt plese your grace on the tenthe day of thys present y spake wyth the kyng for to understand in ca[se] that hys hyȝghnys had namyd and ordenyd hys ambasaturs that schuld be sent unto yowr hyȝghnys the kynge exschuseyng hym that he had not yet don it by cause of thys holi tyme of Ester, but that schortly he wold name and ordeyn hym, and hys hyȝghnys sayeynge that of late [he][1] had recevyd a letter from my lady the prynces, in the whyche sche had wretyn of no mater of supstance but of hyr confessor, desyreyng the kynge hyr fader for to send hyr other from hens, the whyche the kynge sayed that he wold so do.

And on the eleventh da[y] of thys present cam hether a servant of the conmendador de la Membrelya wythe letters from the sayd embassatur, wretyn yn yowr cety of London on the twenty day of Marche, and that the bysschop don Pedro hathe sayd to me that the sayd conmendador hathe wretyn he . . for to have lycence for to come home sayeynge that he ys evyl intreteyd in yowr c[orte], and t[hat yo]wr portorys schuld take hys moyle by the brydel and wold not suffer the sayd ambassatwr for to cum unto yowr corte. To the whyche, and yt plese yowr grace, myn answ[er] was that yowr grace wold not suffer the sayd ambassatur so to be entreteyd wythe owte grete cause. Then and hyt plese yowr grace, the sayd don Pedro schaweynge to awe hys ryȝg[hte] good servyce unto yowr hyȝghnys, sayed to me yn secrete in thys maner: "John Style, t[he] kynge my lord gladly wold contynwe yn amyte wyth the kynge of Yngeland yowr lord, [ho]webe that ye wold mervel in case that ye understode of al the

[1] Omitted in MS.

A.D. 1502. maters that hathe passyd . . . . . wyl and sythe owr departeynge hetherward, howe that the kynge mylord hathe byn remo . . . . . by dyverse and mani persons for to breke amyte wythe the kynge of Yngeland yow[r . . . . . pe]rsons sayeynge that hyt ys to the grete dyshonure of the kynge my lord that he . . . . . [kyn]ge of Yngeland for to kepe the prynces hys dowȝghter so longe there and[1] that the sayd partyes conforteyng the kynge for to send for the prynces hys dowȝghter, and in case that the kynge wold [not][2] redelyver the monay of the sayd prynces dote, that then they of the reame of Castyle, as for theyre aune proper good and at theyr proper cost and charge, that they wold make warr unto the reame of Yngeland; wythe more, that they advyseyd the kynge of Aragon that he schuld send hys conmandament unto al the naturalys of the reame of Castyl that they schuld cease and leve of theyr traute and entercorse of marchantdyse into the reame of Yngeland, sayeynge that the sayd traute and entercorse that they have into Yngeland ys grete damage unto the reame of Castyl, sayeynge that thos persons the whyche most traute into Yngeland convaye muche gold forthe of Castyl for to bye the wood the whyche they do convaye into Yngeland, and for the returne of the same that they do brynge no thynge ynto Castyl but Yngelysche clothe; and that also the sayd persons sayed that hyt schuld be wel don in leke wyse that the Yngelysche marchantys schuld be defendyd that they schuld not have non entercorse of Yngelysche clothe in to thys partys, sayeyng that by the reson of the muche Yngelysche clothe hether comeyng that the clothe makes nue ys lost in Castyl, and sayeynge that the sayd Yngelysche marchantys convaye muche golde forthe of

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[1] *and* repeated in MS. [2] An illegible interlineation.

thys land ynto Yngeland, so that by no reason they A.D. 1509.
thowȝghte that the entercorse of marchandyse by twyxt Yngeland and Spayne ys not benyfyschyal for Castyl.

To al the whyche causys, and hyt plese your grace, I made answer unto the sayd bisschop don Pedro to the best after my pore mynd; unto the whyche he schawyd hym self in everry poynte satysfyed, and that they that had so moschyonyd unto the kynge hys lord had no good ground nor reson so for to do. And hyt plese yowr grace y usyd my selfe in suche maner wythe the sayd bysschop wythe fayre termys bycause that hereafter he schuld not forbere hereafter for to schawe me contenually of hys nwys, by whom y lerne and hyre muche. And hyt plese your grace, the sayeyng of the sayd bysschop then was that the kynge hys lord harde al the aforesayd maters, and toke everry thynge in paschyens, sayeynge unto theym that so counsolyd hys hyȝghnys that the kynge of Yngeland and he were and be grete brothers and fryndys, and that the sayd maryage ys not defferyd but for smal causys the whyche bryfly schuld be determynyd. And hyt plese yowre grace as that many tymys by fore thys y have certefyed unto your hyȝghnys that these pepyl here be wonders close, sotyl, and crafty, to farr passeyng myn understandeyng, so that no man maey be in a suerty almost of thayr wordys, for that often tymys theyr dedys folowe not the same. And as to that sayeyngys of the bysschop, that the kynge hys lord was at hys beynge yn Cevyl and sythe moveyd by dyverse persons as aforesayed; the whyche, and hyt plese your grace, I persayve that hyt was so, for some thyngys were ordoryd & devysed acordeynge to the same counsayle and the wayes and menys sowȝghte, stodeyd and devysyd howe that the money that the conmendador browȝgh[te] yn to yowr reame for my lady the prynces maryaje myȝghte be convayed hether ayen. Al the whyche counsaylys so gevyn to the kynge of Arragon, and

A.D. 1509. hyt plese yowr grace, was nother gevyn nor spoken by non grete astatys of thys land; for the kynge had never a grete astate nor lord of the reame of Castyl wythe hym yn the sayd jorney into the Andoloysa excepte the bysschop of Palencya and the bysschop of Mayeorke, whyche ys nowe archebysschope of Granada, and the bysschop of Segovya, and the bysschop of Canarya, and the bysschop of Cedad Rodrygo, and the presedent wythe the twelve of the lernyd counsel of thys land, and the secretary Almasan and Fernando de Vega, wythe suche other and Aragonesys, the whyche non of them be of no power. Fynally, and hyt plese your grace, here wythe the kynge of Aragon there ys no thynge don wythe oute the counsayle of the secretary Almasan, the whyche Almasan ys ryȝghte secrete and a sotyl man in workeynge, aplyeynge hym self wythe al hys delygencys for the advantage of the kynge hys lord and for hys asurance and abydeynge yn Castyl, the whych ys al theyr myndys of the sayd kyngys afenyte.

And hyt plese your grace, I delyverd unto the kynge of Aragon the copy wretin yn Latyn of the nobyl tryumfe of the nobyl maryaje of my lady Mary your nobyl daughter and the prynce of Castyl. The kynge commandyd Almasan for to copy hyt ynto Castelyas; howe be that yowr grace may be ryȝghte wel insuryd that hyt ys muche more dysplesure to the kynge and al hys afenyte then conforte for to hyre of the said nobyl maryage, yn so muche, and hyt plese your grace, that they saye and wylnot belyve that the sayd excelent maryage ys so concludeyd, and the trwe Castylyans, as the grete capytan and mani other to whom I have gevyn copyes wretyn in Castelyan, they do belyve hyt and take grete rejoyseynge thereyn, and thereby they do trust for to have ryȝghte muche socur and conforte. And as to the sayd grete cappytan as by my other letters of late y have certefyed unto yowr hyghnys that he was determynyd for to do hys

servyse unto yowr grace and unto themperowr and yn A.D. 1509.
the ryȝghte and favor of the prynce of Castyl hys natural lord; howe be that the sayeynge of the sayd duke ys, and hyt plese your grace, that he of late consydorythe the grete sclacknys that ys yn themperowr yn mani ways, sayeynge that hyt ys nere by an hole yere that a servant of hys hathe byn yn themperows corte for to [knowe hys plesure, of the whyche he can have non awnswer; the whyche puttythe hym yn grete fere howe that he and his cumpany schuld be intretyd in case that he and they schuld cum thether. And also he sayethe that he seythe not what servyse that he schuld do yn that partys onles that the prynces comeynge schuld be hetherwardys schorteley; that notwythstandeynge the sayd dukes sayeynge ys that in case that yowr hyȝghnys schal plese for to command hym, or themperour or the pryncys cownsayle wyl wryte unto hym assureynge hym that he schal be by theym entertaynyd and yntretyd to hys onure, that then inmediatly he wyl repayre unto theym wythe al delyjence to him possybyl, the whyche he may not do wythe oute grete danger or joburdy of the leseynge of a grete parte of hys goodys here and al the landys that he hathe yn the reame of Napulys; for in case so were that the sayd duke were departeyd from hens, al th[y]s land schuldbe yn trobyl and hys fryndys. Howebe that, and hyt plese your grace, that no mans departeynge from thys land maye be more to the conforte of the prynce and to the dysplesure of the kynge of Aragon then thys grete capytan, the whyche as yet he nother hys fryndys have not byn favorabylly delte wythe al by the kynge of Aragon. Howe be that, and hyt plese your grace, nowe dayly y understand that the kynge makythe meanys to the sayd grete cappytan and to the markes de Plego, the cund de Cabra, and other,

A.D. 1509. for to have theym yn clyne unto hym; the whyche y fere me that they wyl so do of verry nescessyte, onles that they schal schortely have other conforte from your hyȝghnys, and from themperowr and the pryncys counsayle, as unto the markes de Vyllena and the cunde de Benave[nte] the kynge hath rewardyd theym wythe grete rentys, so, and hyt plese your grace, that the sayd markes and cunde do contynwe yn this corte wythe the kynge; howe be that trust hys hyȝghnys hath non unto the sayd markes mani grete astatys be wel myndyd unto the prynce, but yn especyal the duke de Najara and the cunde de Myranda, and yn no wyse there can no man be sufferyd for to pas into Flanders; for many lordys, jantylmen, and other wold departe in case that they myȝghte pas, and suche as that be taken goynge or comeynge from the prynce be sore presonyd wythe oute favo[r].

Yowr grace may be wel insuryd that the kynge of Arragon ys sore dysplesyd wythe the conclusyon of the maryage of the prynce of Castyl, and so the bysschop don Pedro sayed unto me yn secrete that the kynge hys lord had reason so for to be discontenteyd seynge the prynce whyche that schuld be hys enheretur for to be maryed wythe oute hys assent, the sayd bysschopp sayeynge hyt wold greve a pore man for to se hys enheretur for to be maryed wythe oute hys assente, and muche more a grete prynce as that the kynge my lord ys. To the whyche, and hyt please your grace, y gave suche answers unto the whyche the sayd bysschopp concedeyd that there was not so grete unkyndnys for to be derectyd unto yowr hyȝghnys as that hyt ys here by the kynge taken, for in as muche as at the forst moschyon and contrautaschyon of the sayd maryage the kynge of Aragon was not yn the reame of Castyl and was in the reame of Napulys, and hyt was not at that tyme

thouȝghte that the sayd kynge at that tyme had or myȝghte have ani tytul, conmandament, or enterest in the reame of Castyl as that he hathe at thys daye, beynge the qwyn of Castyl alyve, the whyche ys the verrey enheretur of thys reame of Castyl, and after hyr of ryȝghte must be the prynce Charlys hyr son; the whyche prynce was and ys in the ward and govornance of themprowr, whyche is hys grandfader, and the sayd prynce and hys subjectys in the partys of Flanders beynge in grete trobyl and danger wythe the duke of Gelders by the ayde and conforte of the Fraynsche kynge. For the whyche themperowr and the sayd pryncys cowncel in the sayd partys of Flanders sowȝghte and made labores unto the kyngys hyȝghnys of Yngeland my lord for to have hys favors and ayde for to defend the sayd [prynce an][1]d hys contrays and subjectys from theyr sayd enemyes or from any other . . . . . [1] e same the . . . . . [1] erd; and desyreyd the kynge my lord that hys hyȝghnys wold plese for to geve my lady Mary hys dowȝghter unto thesayd prynce of Castyl in maryaje, the kyngys hyȝghnys my lord consydorynge that the said prynce was tender of aje, and the grete strayte and nescessyte that he and hys cuntrays there and subjectys were in that partys and for the syngular desyre that the kyngys hyȝghnys my lord ever hathe had for to have augementaschyon of allyances wythe the blode of the kynge of Aragon yowr lord, the kyngys hyȝghnys my lord was the more and better contententeyd[2] and plesyd for to ayde the sayd prynce of Castyl and also for to conclude maryage wythe the same. And yet after that the kynge of Arragon was returnyd into Castyl, by fore the conclusyon of the sayd maryaje, by the conmandament of A.D. 1509.

[1] Paper worn away. [2] Sic in MS.

A.D. 1509. the kyngys grace my lord, beynge hys ambassaturys and themperowrs in the towne of Calles comunynge and and in treteynge of the said maryage ys . . . . a . . .[1] d of the same unto the kynge yowr lord more tymys then oons his hyȝghnys, sayeing thereunto no maner a thy . . . . . [1] other . . . . [1] hen, sayenge wel yn a good tyme, and also y schawyd the same in lyke wyse unto yowr [lo]rdschyp and unto the secretary Almasan. Then, and hyt plese yowr grace, the sayeynge of the sayd bysschop was, "The conclusyon of the said maryaje ys grevos to the kynge my lord that hyt was don wythe owte his assent; notwythestandeynge, sythe that hyt ys don, the kynge my lord wyl not inno wyse be perforsyd for to confyrme the sayed maryaje as that the kynge of Yngeland yowr lord schuld constrayne hym, sayeynge that in case that the kynge my lord wylnot confyrme the maryaje by twyxt the prynce of Castyl and my lady Mary that hys son the prynce of Walys schalnot mary the prynces mylordes dowȝghter, the whyche to my semeynge, he sayed, my thynkeythe that hyt is no just waye."

Then, and it plese yowr grace, my sayeynge was that yowr hyȝghnys inno wyse intendethe for to perforce the kynge hys lord for to do ani thynge, howebe that y sayed as that y had byfore sayed unto the kyng and also unto hym acordeynge to the tenurys of yowr nobyl letters, consyderyng the grete alyancys that ys bytwyxt your hyȝghnyssys and yowr nobyl blodys, that hyt folowthe of a good congruence that the kynge of Aragon hys lord schuld confyrme the sayd nobyl maryage wythe oute contradycschyon.

Then, and hyt plese your grace, the bysschop sayed, "Swerely y owe my servyse to the kynge of Yngeland above al other pryncys excepte the kynge my

[1] Paper worn away.

lord; for the whyche I wold that he schuld oons mary A.D. 1509.
the prince of Walys hys son unto the kyng my lordys dowȝghter acordeynge to hys promyse, and that don, then for to saye unto the kynge my lord, 'Brother, trawythe hyt ys that y have wythe themperowr and theym of Flanders concludeyd maryage for my dowȝghter wythe the prynce of Castyl, and for as muche as that hyt ys but wordys that y have made wythe theym, y wyl that I and yow do comune and by twyxt us do make thys sayd maryage by twyxt the sayd prynce and my sayd dowȝghter of the newe, so that hyt may stand in afecte.' To the whyche thys maner the kyng my lord wyl be agreabyl, for hys hyȝ[ghnys kn]owythe not in al the warld where that the prynce of Castyl hys nepte myȝghte so wel mary as wythe [the] kynge of Yngelandys dowȝghter. And therefore the kynge of Yngeland yowr lord owȝghte thys for to do after my mynd, and not therefore nor for the aqwytance of the prynces dote not for to deferr the maryage by twyxt the prynce hys son and the prynces my lordys dowȝghter; for hys hyȝghnys hathe no reson so for to do, and hyt hathe byn seyn by the kynge my lordys counsayle and by the cownsayle of thys land, the wryteyngys by the whyche that the kynge of Yngeland ys bownden fór to repaye the oon half of the prynces dote in case so schuld reqwere. And in case so be that Farnando Duke and the doctur de Puebla, for the plesure of the kynge of Yngeland, wold [or][1] dyd make wythe hys hyȝghnys ani other apoyntament, the kynge and the qwyn here . . . . .[2] ver agreabyl thereunto nor the same . . . . ever by theyr hyȝghnyssys confyrm . . . .[2] nor the kynge my lord wold not abyde nor be bownd by there so doynge; f[or] in case that the qwyn of

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[1] Indistinct. [2] Paper gone.

A.D. 1509. Castyl, Elyzabethe,[1] had lyved, Farnando Duke and the doc[tor] de Puebla had byn dysstroyed for theyre so doyngys. Notwythstandeynge al thys hy[t] schal not nede the kynge of Yngeland yowr lord for to aske non suche aqwytance; for yn case that hyt schuld so reqwere hys hyȝghnys ys no marchant who schuld or wold make warre . . . .[2] recover the sayd dote of hym."

Then, and hyt plese your grace, myn answer was to the sayd bysschop, "Syr, ye knowe the kyngys hyȝghnys my lord wel, and ye knowe that hys hyȝghnys entendythe and lovythe al playnenys and trawythe wythe pryncys and other wythe oute dyssymulaschyon or alterrynge of any promysys by hys hyȝghnys made, and yn lyke wyse by other unto hys hyȝghnys made, to be fyrme and stabyl. For the whyche, syr, y have hyt for ondowteyd that hys hyȝghnys wold not have wretyn unto me for to declare and schawe unto the kynge your lord and to yow tucheynge that mater as that of late I dyd, onles that hys hyghnys had a vere juste and good cause, and that hys hyȝghnys intendythe for to aprove by fore yow or other dysscrete ambassaturs that the kynge yowr lord at thys tyme schal send unto the kyngys hyȝghnys my lord."

Then, and hyt plese your grace, the sayeynge of the sayd bysschop was, "Vereli y do owe my servyse to my pouer to the kynge yowr lord, and not offendeynge the kynge my lord, and gladli wold do my delyjence for to helpe that a good end schuld be taken by twyxt theyr hyȝghnysses. Howe be that there canbe no cownsel kepeyd in Yngeland that inmedyatly hyt be not knowen here, the whyche dothe muche hurte; yet hyt ys not so evyl wretyn by the conmendador as by other; howe be that at thys tyme the conmendador hathe wretyn unto the kynge my lord and also

[1] Isabella. [2] Paper gone.

unto me that the kynge yowr lord oponly hathe sayed A.D. 1509.
that ye wrate unto hys hyȝghnys from Cevyl that I was apoynteyd and comeynge ynto Yngeland from thens as ambassatur, for the whyche cause y maye not speke nor do so largely as that y wold do, for that by the reason thereof y am had in a jolosy that y owe my favor and servyse unto the kynge of Yngeland yowr lord; for the whyche such sayeyngys had byn better sparyd."

And hyt plese yowr grace, acordeynge to my duty wyth al playnys and trawthe y do at al tymys to my knowynge certefy unto yowr hyȝghnys of that I see and hyre yn thys . . . . . [1] the . . . . [1] chuld be to my grete jeburdy and to the dysservyse of yowr hyȝghnys in case that hyt were here dysclosyd by ani wryteyng from yowr reame of Yngeland or other wyse; for, as byfore thys y have certefyed unto your hyȝghnys, that in case that your hyȝghnys had sent me unto the Turke or ani kynge in the Barbory, y doute not but that y schuld for the favor of yowr hyȝghnys have as good chere and cumpani as that y have here, and the prynce of Castylys ambassatur in lykewyse; and al y do and schal suffer wythe fewe wordys and paschyens for the servyse of yowr grace dureynge yowr graschyus plesure; for he that schal contynewe her must suffer paschyence of force, hyreynge muche and saye lytel, or els schortely for to be dysstroyed.

Yowr grace schal understand that the qwyn of Castyl was browȝghte to Tordeselyas on the fyvetyn day of Marche that last pas, and hyr late kyngys corse wythe hyr and hyr younge infanta, and there sche contynwythe wythe a smal cumpany of servantys abowte hyr excepte Mo[nsen.] [1] Ferrer and suche Arragonesys as hyt plesythe the kynge hyr fader, and the bysschop of Malaga and the bysschop of Mon-

[1] Paper gone.

A.D. 1509. donedo; the whyche bysschoppys be there for a countenance, but they speke not wythe the qwyn, nor no man excepte Monsen. Ferrer. And hyt plese yowr grace, thys Tordeselyas ys the place where that the sayd qwynys grandame[1] contynwyd and was kepyd many yerys after the deces of hyr kynge don John of Castyl, the sayd qwyn not beynge in hyr parfyte mynd; and so leke wyse thys qwyn ys leke for to be there kepyd for the terme of hyr lyfe. And hyr late kyngys corse not beynge beryed, by cause that the pepyl maye derecte the les dyscreschyon in the sayd qwyn, thys land nowe beynge perforce fully obedyent unto the kynge of Aragon; and also the sayd kynge dayli usythe meanys for to have the astatys retaynyd unto hym. The cunde de Cabra ys cleryd and qwyteyd ayent the kynge by the lernyd cownsel of the land, and on the syxtyn day of thys monythe of Apryel, so that the sayd cunde may goe home into hys cuntraye. And hyt plese your grace, the markes de Plego ys sent fore and ys comeynge to thys corte, and hyt ys sayed that the kynge wyl pardon hym and restore the sayd markes to hys onure, offycys, and landys.

And acordeynge unto the conmandament of yowr hyghnys y do and have conforteyd suche as that by the prynce of Castyllys fryndys here, that they schuld persever in theyr good myndys towardys the prynce of Castyl. And hyt please yowr grace, they saye that they wole so gladly do, howe be that hyt ys and schalbe, they saye, to theyr utterly dysstruxschyons, in as muche as that the prynce comythe not nor ambassaturs from themperowr, nor from yowr grace and the sayd prynce for to se suche order taken that thys land be not dyspoylyd and the pryncys fryndys dysstroyed. For the defaute of suche order by your

[1] Isabella of Portugal queen of John II. of Castile.

hyȝghnys and themperowr not taken at lengythe, A.D. 1509.
thys land schalbe impoveryschyd and they to be dysstroyed, or els for to abayse theym selfe, for to take the kynge of Arragons parte, the costys of the whyche ambassaturys here after myȝghte be payed of the revenwys of Castyl. Y se not, and hyt plese your grace, but that thys pepyl at lengythe wyl wax faynt yn case that there schalbe non other provysyon of conforte hether yn the prynce of Castyl behalfe. Yowr grace schal understand that the cardynal of Tolodo ys at Cartajena, were, by the kynge of Arragons conmandament and by the said cardynalys provysyon, there ys an armey assembelyd of fyve or [sy]x thowsand . . . . . .[1] e s . . . . . [1][th]e sayd cardynal wyl pay into the Barbary ayent the Morys; and some saye that he wyl to Rome and other twoo thowsand men schal by al thys monythe schyp at Valencya, the whyche schal pas yn to the reame of Napulys.

Of late by my sundry letters I have wretyn unto yowr hyȝghnys for to be socurryd wyth more money for myn exspences for my grete nescessyte and danger of borowynge that y contenualli am in here; the whyche my trust ys that hyt be al redy remembreyd and provydeyd by yowr graschyust conmandament by fore thys day, otherwyse y [may not[2]] leve here leke the servant of yowr most excelente grace oute of the danger of evyl sayers. And hyt plese your grace, that by ani thynge that y can understand that hyt ys apoynteyd or schalbe that the cunde of Syfwentys, that ys presedent of the counsayle here, or the bysschop of Canarya, schal cum for ambassatur unto your grace. The delyverrance of the qwyn of Arragon of chyld, and hyt plese your grace, ys ourely lo[kyd[1]] for to be, and of a swerty the qwyn of Castyl ys sore seke and yn grete jober[dy[1] of] hyr lyf. Of the whyche [and[1]] al other thyngys y

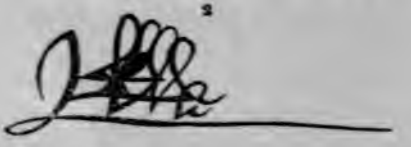
[1] Paper gone in these places. [2] Blotted and illegible.

A.D. 1509. schal hereafter make the certefycathe unto yowr hyȝghnys wythe the greteyst delygencys to my power by the grace of the Holy Gost, who perserve yowr royalyst astate long for to endure. Wreyn[1] yn Valadalyd on the syx and twenty day of Apryel, the fowr and twent[1] yere of yowr nobyllyst reygne, by the most humyl and faytheful servant to yowr grace,

JOHN STYLE.

Verryly, and hyt plese yowr grace, by the lytel hast that the kynge of Arragon makythe yn the sendeynge of hys ambassators towardys yowr hyȝghnys acordeynge to hys sayeynge to me that he ys not so wel myndyd towardys yowr hyȝghnys as hyt were of reson reqwysyte consydorynge yowr grete alyancys, after my pore mynd.

[2]



[1] Sic in MS.

[2] This curious mark, which appears to be a monogram of his name, occurs at the bottom of all Stile's despatches in cipher.

GLOSSARY.

GLOSSARY.

The words in this Glossary are all French, except where otherwise indicated by the addition of "Lat." or "Eng." within parentheses. The numbers refer to the principal pages where they occur.

AGEIHÉ, AGHÉÉ, AGGHEYÉ, 170, 174, 178, for *égayé*. Spangled, or made to look cheerful with bright colours, or otherwise.

AGUISSÉS, 169. Decorated.

AHOURNÉ, 175. } Furnished? or decorated? Perhaps *orné* misspelt.
AMRUÉS, 169. }

AMVOYER, 157, for *Envoyer*. To send.

ANEMYS, 152, for *Ennemis*. Enemies.

ANTER, 166. To frequent, or haunt.

ANTINOTATOR (Lat.) A controller.

APOSTOLI (Lat.), 393. A name used in the Canon Law, signifying a particular description of documents granted by judges and other officials in appeals to Rome.

ARENGUE, ARAYNGHE, 174, 190. Harangue, speech.

ARNES, 177. Harness.

ASSEMBLER, 146, for *À sembler*.

ATERRY, 148. Grovelling; *lit.* fallen to earth.

AULCUN, any. *Ne aulcun*, none.

AULCUNEMENT, 134, 136. Anywise, or nowise (with *ne* understood).

AUTEL, 136. Such, the like.

AVENE, 158. A harbour.

BARD, 184. *Cheval bard*. A barbed horse.

BOUGS? 221.

BROULLER, 150. Generally, to mix or jumble; here, to soak or stain with a liquid. The idea of penetrating one substance with another, appears to be involved.

CANNES, 181, for *Chiens*. Dogs?

CARNI, 178, for *Garni*. Garnished, or adorned.

CATIN, 221, for *Satin*.

CE, 150, for *Si*.

CE, 179, for *Se*.

CENESTRE, 175, for *Senestre*. Left [hand].

CETTELLE, 174. A kirtle?

CHACHER, 185, for *Chasser*.

CHANS, 219, for *Champs*. Fields.

CHARS, 166. Flesh. From *Caro*.

CHAUCHÉ, 182, for *Chaussé*.

CHAUCHES, 182. Breeches.

CHERUMBELLES, 191. Cymbals?

CHEVAUCHER, CHEVAULCHER. To ride on horseback.

COGNOTATOR (Lat.) A controller.

COLLATION, 172. Conference, speech.

COMPLETES, 174. Complines.

COQUIN, 141. A beggar or vagabond.

COUSTEY, 162. Mod Fr. *Côté*. Side.

CUIDER, CUYDER, QUIDER, 135, 136. To think.

DAMONT, 141. Up.

DAVAL, 141. Down.

DEMENT, 133. Probably from *Dementia*. En dement. Raging?

DESFROYER, 189. To defray or pay expenses.

DESTRE, 175. DEXTRE, 134. Right [hand].

DONT, 141, for *D'ou*. Whence (*unde*).

DUYT, 137. Suitable.

DYENT, 144. 3d per. plur. of dire.

EGULLE, 182, for *Aiguille*.

EN, 133, 141, for *On*.

ENNORTEMENT, 135. Exhortation.

S'ESBATRE, 139. To sport.

ESCALLEMÉES, 193. Shalms?

ESCARS, 161. Slight, insufficient.

ESCARSSITÉ, 189. Scarcity.

ESCRIPRE, ESPCRIRE, 135, for *Ecrire*. To write.

ESLONGNE, 141. Delay.

ESPADINS, 195. Portuguese Coi

ESTEUS, 171, for *Esteuf*. A te ball.

ESTOC, 139. A thrust.

ESTRAINE, 140. Mod. Fr. *Etre* A gift.

ESTRIEUFS, 195, for *Étriers*. Stirr

EUA, EWEUA, 162, for *Eau*. W:

FAUDUENS or FANDUENS? 182.

FECULTE, 166, for *Faute*?

FESUNA, 178, for *Faine*. A bee nut.

FORODRÉ, 194. Lined?

SE HAULSER, 140. To incre From *Altus*.

HAULE, HAUBE, or HANBE? Perhaps for *Épaule*.

HAULTAIN, 134. High, noble.

HEUF, 178, for *Œuf*. Egg.

HIDEUR, 141. Frightful.

HOUCHEURE, HUCHURE, 176, 177. *I* parently trappings or housings

ISSILUI, ISSELLE, 220. That.

JUSTOS, 194. Evidently Portugu coins.

LEED, 198. Mod. Fr. *Laid*. Ug

LESCAIRON, 145. Qu. for *L'escriro*

LIENS, LYENS, 162, 168. There.

LOUS, 190. Praise.

LUISSANT, 171. Brilliant.

LUITERIES, 190. Wrestling matches.

LUYRE, 133. To shine or give light.

MACTER, 135. To conquer. (*Mactare.*)

MAIDRE, 175, for *Moindre?*

MAINER, MENER, 137. To lead.

MAINS, 143, for *Moins.*

MAINS, 143, for *Matins.*

MAINT, 137. Many.

MANDÉ, 188. (Lat. *Mandatum*). The ceremony of washing poor men's feet, in imitation of Christ, on Maundy Thursday. Henry VII. washed with his own hands 29 poor men's feet at Lincoln in 1486. *See* Leland's Collectanea, IV. 185. From the words "Mandatum novum do vobis," which were chanted on the occasion.

MANS, 157. [*Mains?*]

MARCHEPAINS, 168. Some kind of confectionery.

MARGARITTE, 178. A pearl.

MARTIRER, 147. To murder. To make a murderous onslaught.

MENGER, 142, for *Manger.*

MONTS ET VAULX, 143. *Faire monts et vaulx.* A proverbial expression. *Promettre monts et vaulx* or *Monts et merveilles.* To promise extraordinary things.

MUSSIR, 166. Qu. *Mousser?*

NONNE, 197. Noon. The word, according to Roquefort, means the ninth hour of the day or three o'clock in the afternoon, but is clearly equivalent to "heure de midi" in Machado.

OURE, 188, for *Heure.* Hour.

OUVANT, 189, for *Oyant.* Hearing.

PAISSER, 217. To pacify.

PARFIN, 139. End.

PASTIS, 137. Pastures, fields.

PEICHON, 188, for *Poisson.* Fish.

PERIS, 221. Qu. *Pers,* which Roquefort explains as dark blue, "bleu tirant vers le noir."

PERPOINT, 221, for *Pourpoint.* Doublet.

PIECHE, 219. Space of time.

PIEÇA, 148. Of old.

PILL (Eng.), 280. To rob or plunder.

PLAINEMENT, 135, for *De plain.* Straightway.

PREPOSSICION, 172, 192, appears to be the first oration delivered by an ambassador on arriving at the Court to which he was sent.

QUERELLE, 143. Cause, party.

QUERIR, 170, 173. To seek.

QUIDER. *See* CUIDER.

RECHEF, RECHIEF. *De Rechief.* Again.

REGNYER, 138, for *Renier.* To renounce.

REMYDES, 139. Expedients.

RESTANCHER, 137. To dry up.

ROYE, for *Raye*. A line.

SAÉTE, 150. An arrow.

SAINCTURE, 142, for *Cincture*.

SAINTE, 219, for *Ceinte*. Girt.

SANGER, 158, for *Changer* in Machado. To change.

SE, 135, 150, for *Si*. If.

SENESTRE, 134. Left [hand].

SETILLE, 152. Qu. a diminutive of *Saete*, an arrow?

SI, 147. Also.

SI, 135, for *S'y*.

SOISSY, 179, for *Choisi* in Machado.

SOLLIÉS, 182, for *Souliers*.

SOULDARS, 139, 140. Soldiers, hired warriors.

SOUSSIN, 190, for *Cousin*.

SUCADES, 168. Some kind of confectionery?

TAMPS, TANS, for *Temps* in Machado.

TASKES, 274. (Eng.) Taxes.

TAULNEY, 218. Tawney?

TEULX, 196, for *Tels*. Such.

TOREAU, 143, for *Taureau*. A bull.

TOUAILLE, 179. Towel.

TOURES, 190. Qu. for *Taureaux*. Bulls?

VESQUE, 169, for *Evesque*. Bishop.

VESY, 168, for *Voici*.

VEUE, 162, for *Vue*.

VOIDE, VOYDE, 193. A vow. From *Votum?*

VOULLER, 193. To hawk.

WENT, 268, (Eng.), for *Wened*, i.e. Thought.

YSTOIRE, for *Histoire*.

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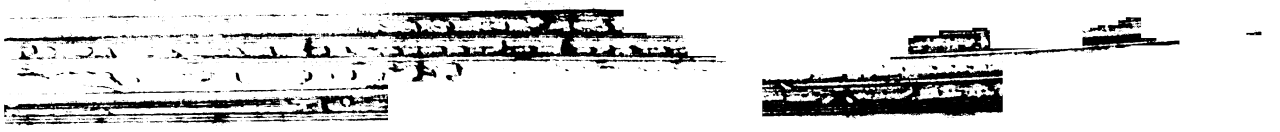

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Page 31, *dele* note 2 and read *Sic*, *for* "cominus."
112, l. 20, *for* quidem *read* quidam.
129, l. 5, *for* ventitabant *read* ventitabat.
162, l. 3 from bottom, *for* lieus *read* liens.
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211, l. 2, *for* 1490 *read* 149 , (leaving the note *Sic* at the bottom of the page, there being no cipher in the MS.)
227, l. 8 from bottom, to the word "of" append this note "Sic in Cott. Om. in printed copy."
313, l. 8 from bottom, *for* fought *read* sported.
331, l. 3 from bottom, *dele* full stop after Tuesday, and alter "And we were obliged" into "and was insufficient for us."

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